POSITIVE PEACE REPORT 2018

ANALYSING THE FACTORS THAT SUSTAIN PEACE

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Quantifying Peace and its Benefits

The Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank dedicated to shifting the world's focus to peace as a positive, achievable, and tangible measure of human well-being and progress.

IEP achieves its goals by developing new conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness; providing metrics for measuring peace; and uncovering the relationships between business, peace and prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that create peace.

IEP is headquartered in Sydney, with offices in New York, The Hague, Mexico City and Brussels. It works with a wide range of partners internationally and collaborates with intergovernmental organisations on measuring and communicating the economic value of peace.

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WHY POSITIVE PEACE IS TRANSFORMATIONAL

Humanity is now facing challenges unparalleled in its history. Many of these problems are global in nature, such as climate change, ever-decreasing biodiversity, depletion of the earth's fresh water, and overpopulation. Such global challenges call for global solutions and require cooperation on a scale unprecedented in human history. In a hyper-connected world, the sources of many of these challenges are multidimensional, increasingly complex and span national borders. For this reason, finding solutions to these unprecedented challenges fundamentally requires new ways of thinking.

Without peace, it will not be possible to achieve the levels of trust, cooperation or inclusiveness necessary to solve these challenges, let alone empower the international institutions and organisations necessary to address them. Therefore, peace is the prerequisite for the survival of humanity as we know it in the 21st century.

Without an understanding of the factors that create and sustain peaceful societies, it will not be possible to develop the programmes, create the policies or understand the resources required to build peaceful and resilient societies.

Positive Peace provides a framework to understand and address the many complex challenges the world faces. Positive Peace is transformational in that it is a cross-cutting factor of progress, making it easier for businesses to sell, entrepreneurs and scientists to innovate, individuals to produce and governments to effectively regulate.

In addition to the absence of violence, Positive Peace is also associated with many other social characteristics that are considered desirable, including stronger economic outcomes, higher resilience, better measures of well-being, higher levels of inclusiveness and more sustainable environmental performance.

Therefore, Positive Peace creates an optimal environment in which human potential can flourish.

Understanding what creates sustainable peace cannot be found in the study of violence alone.

A parallel can be drawn with medical science. The study of pathology has led to numerous breakthroughs in our understanding of how to treat and cure disease. However, it was only when medical science turned its focus to the study of healthy human beings that we understood what we needed to do to stay healthy: physical exercise, a good mental disposition and a balanced diet are some examples. This could only be learned by studying what was working. In the same way, the study of conflict is different from the study of peace, producing very different outcomes.

Positive Peace is systemic and requires new thinking to be properly understood. Systems thinking originated in the study of organisms and has been extended into sociology. It can also assist in understanding the way countries and nations function and evolve. When combined with Positive Peace, systems thinking provides new ways of conceptualising and explaining societal change. A system is more than the sum of its parts and cannot be understood merely by breaking it down into its constituent parts. This distinctly contrasts the notion of linear causality which dominates decision making today; identify a problem, decide upon its cause and tackle the root. Without a fuller understanding of underlying system dynamics, the linear approach creates unintended consequences. The failure to solve some of society's fundamental challenges is a testimony to this. Systems thinking opens new ways of understanding nations and how they evolve. In systems, relationships and flows are more important than events. Events or problems represent the outcomes of the relationships and flows. This is why it is important to look at the multidimensional concept of Positive Peace as a holistic, systemic framework.

Positive Peace defines the goals that a system needs to evolve too. Interventions should nudge the system towards higher levels of Positive Peace. Importantly, viewing nations as systems provides a framework for understanding the relationships between humanity and the broader systems, such as the atmosphere and biosphere, which we intersect and depend upon. Systems are self-regulating and self-modifying and operate on two levels; first as a collection of interconnected subsystems and second as part of the larger systems surrounding it. Understanding these interdependencies is essential to meeting the global challenges of our age.

Different countries have different aims, or intent. Further, societies also have both formal and informal rules, referred to as encoded norms, which govern society and aim to maintain the system in a stable state. They regulate inputs, creating what are known as mutual feedback loops. This can be observed in many societal processes, such as when a government stimulates the economy in responses to a drop in GDP or deploys more policing resources when there is a rise in crime.

With differences in intent and encoded norms any two nations may react differently to the same stimulus. Tipping points also occur within systems due to lagged and non-linear relationships. IEP's research has evidence of tipping points in relation to peace and corruption and peace and per capita income, to name some examples. In the past, societies have been understood through causality; in the future, embracing these holistic, systemic approaches will forge our ability to manage an age of unprecedented challenges.

Seen in this light, Positive Peace and systems thinking comprise an overarching framework for understanding and achieving progress not only in the level of global peacefulness, but in many other interrelated areas, including better economic progress and social advancement.

Positive Peace provides the optimal environment for human potential to flourish.

Executive Summary

The 2018 Positive Peace report outlines a new approach to societal development through the application of Positive Peace and systems thinking. Positive Peace is defined as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies.

The same factors that create peace also lead to many other positive outcomes that societies aspire to, such as thriving economies, better inclusion, high levels of resilience and societies that are more capable of adapting to change. Other factors positively associated with Positive Peace are better performance on ecological measures, well-being and happiness. Therefore, Positive Peace can be described as creating an optimum environment in which human potential can flourish.

Through placing the emphasis on the positive, Positive Peace reframes our conceptualisation towards what works. The factors that create resilience are different to those needed to stop conflict.

Positive Peace, when combined with systems thinking, also provides a theory of change. Changes in Positive Peace precede other major societal changes, either for better or worse. Through building the strength of a nation's Positive Peace, the nation's overall trajectory can also be improved. Stimuli have cascading effects, due to the feedback loops contained within national systems pushing societies into virtuous or vicious cycles. However, these cycles can be changed. Positive Peace provides a roadmap of what societies need to change to either improve or break vicious cycles.

Without a better understanding of how societies operate, it will not be possible to solve humanity's major global challenges. Positive Peace provides a unique framework to better manage human affairs and to relate to the broader ecosystems upon which we depend. Positive Peace in many ways is a facilitator, making it easier for workers to produce, businesses to sell, entrepreneurs and scientists to innovate and governments to serve the interests of their people.

This report is a continuation of the prior work of IEP, and includes updated results for the annual Positive Peace Index (PPI). It provides a basis for the application of systems thinking to better understand how nations operate. The introductory section of the report describes the fundamental concepts associated with systems thinking, such as encoded norms, national homeostasis, self-modification and mutual feedback loops. In doing so, IEP provides a new interdependent framework and holistic approach to understanding peace and development.

Positive Peace is also strongly linked to resilience. Countries with high Positive Peace are more likely to maintain their stability and adapt and recover from both internal and external shocks. Eighty-four per cent of major political shocks occurred in countries with low Positive Peace. Similarly, there are 13 times more lives lost from natural disasters in nations with low Positive Peace as opposed to those with high Positive Peace.

Countries with stronger Positive Peace have restorative capacities and as such are more resilient in times of civil unrest. Civil resistance movements tend to be smaller, exist for a shorter period of time, have more moderate aims, be more likely to achieve their goals, and are far less violent. The differences between countries can be striking: 91 per cent of all primarily violent civil resistance campaigns have been waged in countries with weaker Positive Peace.

In 2017, the economic impact of containing or dealing with the consequences of violence was 12.4 per cent of global GDP or approximately $14 trillion, highlighting that improvements in resilience and peace have substantial economic advantages to the global economy.

Changes in Positive Peace are also linked to improvements in macroeconomic indicators. For example, for every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace, real per capita GDP increased by nearly three per cent over the decade up to 2016; similarly, countries that improved in Positive Peace recorded an annual appreciation of 1.9 per cent in their currencies compared to a depreciation of 0.2 per cent for countries that deteriorated.

Positive Peace has been improving since 2005, with 110 of the 163 countries improving in PPI, or 67 per cent, over this period. Seven of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace have also improved. The one Pillar that recorded a deterioration is *Low Levels of Corruption*, mainly due to a deterioration in factionalised elites.

To further help in understanding how Positive Peace operates, the rise of European populism is explained through the region's changes in Positive Peace, where 17 out of 36 countries in Europe recorded deteriorations in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017. Since 2014, the deterioration has accelerated, with 22 countries deteriorating. The US also recorded a sharp deterioration in Positive Peace, resulting in North America recording the sharpest fall of any region in the world.

Positive Peace represents a complex set of social dynamics. The research finds that different Pillars become more important at different stages of development. For example, improvements from low levels of peace require more factors to improve simultaneously than the number of factors that caused peace to deteriorate in the first place. As countries progress toward

higher levels of peacefulness, the eight Pillars build on one another to consolidate mutually reinforcing successes. Conversely, breakdowns in peace are preceded by deteriorations in fewer indicators.

Additionally, improvements in a single Pillar without improvements in other Pillars can lead to a higher likelihood of deteriorations in peace. Overhauling all aspects of corruption or governance, for example, may prove to be problematic. Countries, like systems, evolve, and therefore the unique factors which constitute the make-up of a country need to be understood and then nudged towards a higher level of Positive Peace, rather than attempt to radically change it.

Taken together, the findings in this report have important implications for building and sustaining peace.

- There is no 'silver bullet.' Building and sustaining peace requires a large number of society-wide improvements progressing in concert with one another over a long period of time.
- Simply addressing the factors that led to violence in the past will not be enough to sustain peace. Different aspects of the social system push societies toward or away from peace, which means that improvements in peace require broader and more systemic strategies than once thought.
- Prevention should be the priority. Recovery after violence has already occurred is difficult, expensive, and requires widespread effort to rebuild Positive Peace. Through focusing on the factors that are most vulnerable, it is possible to build resilience in the most cost-effective way.
- Stopping or preventing conflict is not an end in itself. As Positive Peace progresses, it enables an environment where human potential has more avenues to flourish.

The report offers examples of the implementation of Positive Peace. At the national level, Bhutan, Peru and Timor Leste have made sustained improvements in Positive Peace in recent years. As such, this report uses these as case studies and analyses specific policy instruments these nations have implemented and how these link to the Pillars of Peace. At the programmatic level, details are provided on a series of workshops that IEP has conducted for Libya, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Mexico aimed at building Positive Peace in these countries. Finally, at the local level, examples are provided of projects implemented using IEP's Positive Peace framework, that have been created significant positive change within communities.

"Simply addressing the factors that led to violence in the past will not be enough to sustain peace. Improvements in peace require broader and more systemic strategies than once thought."

Key Findings

Positive Peace fundamentals

→ Positive Peace is defined as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies.

→ These same factors also lead to many other positive outcomes that society feels are important, such as economic strength, resilience and well-being.

→ Therefore, Positive Peace creates the optimum environment for human potential to flourish.

→ The most peaceful countries in the world perform strongly on all eight Pillars of Positive Peace.

→ High Positive Peace countries are more likely to maintain stability, adapt, and recover from shocks as they overcome their challenges.

→ Countries that are high in Positive Peace are more likely to maintain high levels of peace.

→ The level of Positive Peace is a country's best long-term indicator of how peaceful a country is likely to be.

Global and regional trends

→ Over the past 12 years, Positive Peace has improved by 2.4 per cent globally.

→ However, global progress in Positive Peace has been uneven since 2013 due to deteriorations in *Free Flow of Information*, *Equitable Distribution of Resources*, *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

→ The three regions of Russia and Eurasia, South Asia, and Asia-Pacific had the largest improvements, at 5.8 per cent, 4.8 per cent and 4.3 per cent respectively.

→ North America is notably lagging behind the rest of the world, with deteriorations in *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, *Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *Free Flow of Information*.

→ Between 2005 and 2017, 17 out of 36 European countries experienced deteriorations in their overall PPI scores, coinciding with the rise of populist political parties throughout the region.

Benefits of Positive Peace

→ Every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace corresponds with 2.9 per cent growth in real GDP per capita over the decade to 2016.

→ Countries that improved in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017 had two percentage points higher annual GDP growth on average than countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace.

→ Improvements in Positive Peace are linked to strengthening domestic currencies. Countries that improved in Positive Peace had a median appreciation of 1.9 per cent in their exchange rate per annum, while countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace recorded a median depreciation of 0.2 per cent between 2005 and 2016.

→ Non-OECD countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace from 2010 to 2016 had an average fall in their credit rating of 4.5 points on a scale of 0 to 22.

→ Numbers of lives lost from natural disasters between 2005 and 2015 were 13 times larger in low Positive Peace countries than in high Positive Peace countries, a disproportionately high ratio when compared to the distribution of incidents.

→ Eighty-four per cent of major political shocks have occurred in low Positive Peace countries.

→ Ninety-one per cent of all primarily violent resistance campaigns have been waged in countries with weaker Positive Peace.

→ Countries with high levels of Positive Peace have fewer civil resistance movements and those campaigns tend to be less violent, more limited in their goals, and more likely to achieve some of their aims.

Positive Peace and changes in the Global Peace Index

→ *Well-Functioning Government*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Good Relations with Neighbours* are more important in countries suffering from high levels of violence.

→ Countries that transitioned to lower levels of peace tended to have higher levels of availability of small arms, higher numbers of police and higher group grievances than their peers.

→ Countries that transitioned to higher levels of peace had lower levels of availability of small arms, better economic environments and higher levels of Positive Peace.

→ Security forces can be a source of either greater peace or greater violence; the broader performance on Positive Peace is the key factor that determines the outcome.

→ In certain circumstances, improving *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* without improvements in the other Pillars can create the dynamics that cause peace to deteriorate.

→ Countries that had significant improvements in peacefulness improved in many aspects of Positive Peace at once.

→ Eighty-five per cent of countries that had large reductions in violence improved on ten or more Positive Peace indicators beforehand.

→ Seventy per cent of countries that had large deteriorations in the Global Peace Index deteriorated on nine or fewer Positive Peace indicators beforehand.

→ Medium peace countries that improved on the GPI progressed on a number of measures beforehand, including economic performance, material well-being, cohesion between groups, cultural exchange and opportunities for youth, women and the poor.

→ Constraints on press freedom are a precursor to substantial falls in peace.

→ Seventeen out of 20 countries with the largest falls in peace had deteriorating scores on the World Press Freedom Index and 14 deteriorated in the Freedom of the Press Index.

WHAT IS POSITIVE PEACE?

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NEGATIVE PEACE

... is the absence of violence or fear of violence.

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POSITIVE PEACE

... is the attitudes, institutions & structures that create and sustain peaceful societies.

→ Positive Peace is defined as *the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies*. These same factors also lead to many other positive outcomes which society feels are important. Positive Peace has been empirically derived by IEP through analysing thousands of cross-country measures of economic and social progress to determine which have statistically significant relationships with actual peace as measured by the Global Peace Index (GPI).

→ Positive Peace is measured by the Positive Peace Index (PPI), which consists of eight Pillars, each containing three indicators. This provides a baseline measure of the effectiveness of a country's capabilities to build and maintain peace. It also provides a measure for policymakers, researchers and corporations to use for effective monitoring and evaluation.

→ Positive Peace can be used as the basis for empirically measuring a country's resilience — its ability to absorb, adapt and recover from shocks, such as climate change or economic transformation. It can also be used to measure fragility and help predict the likelihood of conflict, violence and instability.

BOX 1.1

The Pillars of Positive Peace

A visual representation of the factors comprising Positive Peace. All eight factors are highly interconnected and interact in varied and complex ways.

Well Functioning Government

Sound Business Environment

Equitable Distribution of Resources

Low Levels of Corruption

PEACE

Free Flow of Information

Acceptance of the Rights of Others

High Levels of Human Capital

Good Relations with Neighbours

POSITIVE PEACE & SYSTEMS THINKING

This section describes how Positive Peace can reinforce and build the attitudes, institutions and structures that allow societies to flourish. These same factors create resilient and adaptive societies that pre-empt conflict and help societies channel disagreements productively.

Positive Peace as a term was first introduced in the 1960s and has historically been understood qualitatively based on idealistic concepts of a peaceful society. The distinguishing feature of IEP's work on Positive Peace is that it is empirically derived. Using statistical analysis to identify the common characteristics of the world's most peaceful countries forms an important evidence base and avoids subjective value judgements of the drivers of peace.

Human beings encounter conflict regularly – whether at home, at work, among friends or on a more systemic level between ethnic, religious or political groups. But the majority of these conflicts do not result in violence. Conflict provides the opportunity to negotiate or renegotiate to improve mutual outcomes. Conflict, provided it is nonviolent, can be constructive process. There are aspects of society that enable this, such as attitudes that discourage violence or legal structures designed to reconcile grievances.

The Pillars of Positive Peace

IEP has identified eight key factors, or Pillars, that comprise Positive Peace:

- **Well-functioning Government** – A well-functioning government delivers high-quality public and civil services, engenders trust and participation, demonstrates political stability and upholds the rule of law.
- **Sound Business Environment** – The strength of economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both associated with the most peaceful countries.
- **Equitable Distribution of Resources** – Peaceful countries tend to ensure equity in access to resources such as education, health and, to a lesser extent, equity in income distribution.
- **Acceptance of the Rights of Others** – Peaceful countries often have formal laws that guarantee basic human rights and freedoms and the informal social and cultural norms that relate to behaviours of citizens.
- **Good Relations with Neighbours** – Peaceful relations with other countries are as important as good relations between groups within a country. Countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and tend to be more politically stable, have better functioning governments, are regionally integrated and have lower levels of organised internal conflict.
- **Free Flow of Information** – Free and independent media disseminates information in a way that leads to greater knowledge and helps individuals, business and civil society make better decisions. This leads to better outcomes and more rational responses in times of crisis.
- **High Levels of Human Capital** – A skilled human capital base reflects the extent to which societies educate citizens and promote the development of knowledge, thereby improving economic productivity, care for the young, political participation and social capital.
- **Low Levels of Corruption** - In societies with high levels of corruption, resources are inefficiently allocated, often leading to a lack of funding for essential services and civil unrest. Low corruption can enhance confidence and trust in institutions.

BOX A.1

Measuring peace: the Positive Peace Index and the Global Peace Index

The Global Peace Index (GPI), produced annually by IEP, ranks 163 independent states and territories according to their level of peacefulness and stands as the world's leading measure of global peacefulness. The GPI is composed of 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators from highly respected sources, covering 99.7 per cent of the world's population. The index measures global peace using three broad themes: the level of safety and security in society, the extent of domestic or international conflict and the degree of militarisation. For the full 2017 report and to explore the interactive map of global peace, visit www.visionofhumanity.org.

The Positive Peace Index (PPI) measures the level of Positive Peace in 163 countries. The PPI is composed of 24 indicators that capture the eight Pillars of Positive Peace. Each indicator was selected based on the strength of its statistically significant relationship with the GPI. For more information and the latest results of the PPI, refer to Section 1 of this report.

Positive Peace can be described as the attitudes, institutions and structures necessary for Positive Peace. IEP does not specifically describe them, as these will very much be dependent on cultural norms and specific situations. What is appropriate in one country may not be appropriate in another. The ways in which *High Levels of Human Capital* or *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, for example, manifest in each society will be unique to some degree. However, the composite scores for each Pillar capture the dynamics at play in each society. The indicators chosen to measure each Pillar are based on the factors with the strongest statistically significant relationship with peacefulness and as such form both a holistic and empirical framework.

Characteristics of Positive Peace

Positive Peace has the following characteristics:

- **Systemic and complex:** progress occurs in non-linear ways and can be better understood through relationships and communication flows rather than through a linear sequence of events.

- **Virtuous or vicious:** it works as a process where negative feedback loops or vicious cycles can be created and perpetuated. Alternatively, positive feedback loops and virtuous cycles can likewise be created and perpetuated.

- **Preventative:** though overall Positive Peace levels tend to change slowly over time, building strength in relevant Pillars can prevent violence and violent conflict.

- **Underpins resilience and nonviolence:** Positive Peace builds capacity for resilience and incentives for nonviolent conflict resolution. It provides an empirical framework to measure an otherwise amorphous concept: resilience.

- **Informal and formal:** it includes both formal and informal societal factors. This implies that societal and attitudinal factors are as important as state institutions.

- **Supports development goals:** Positive Peace provides an environment in which development goals are more likely to be achieved.

Systems Thinking

Systems theory first originated while attempting to better understand the workings of biological systems and organisms, such as cells or the human body. Through such studies, it became clear that understanding the individual parts of a system was inadequate to describe a system as a whole, as systems are much more than the sum of their parts. Applying systems thinking to the nation state allows us to better understand how societies work, how to better manage the challenges societies face and how to improve overall wellbeing. This approach offers alternatives to traditional understanding of change.

All systems are considered open, interacting with the sub-systems within them, other similar systems and the super-system within which they are contained. The nation is made up of many actors, units and organisations spanning the family, local communities and public and private sectors. As all of these both operate individually and interact with other institutions and organisations, each can be thought of as their own open system within the nation. Sub-systems may, for instance, include companies, families, civil society organisations, or public institutions. All have differing intents and encoded norms.

Similarly, nation states interact with other nations through trading relations, regional body membership and diplomatic exchanges, such as peace treaties or declarations of war.

Figure A.1 illustrates different levels that are relevant to the nation or country. It shows that the nation state itself is made up of these many sub-systems, including the individual, civil society and business community. Scaling up, the nation is a sub-system of the international community, in which it builds and maintains relationships with other nations and international organisations. Finally, the international community forms a sub-system of a number of natural systems, such as the atmosphere and biosphere. It should be noted that any sub-system within the following diagram can interact with a super system at any level. For example, the individual can interact with the nation they belong to, other nations, the international community or the natural environment.

Systems thinking offers a more complex view of causality. Standard analysis often uses the linear causality assumption that, every effect has a cause. Such an assumption is useful for explaining discrete and well-isolated physical phenomena. When multiple variables are involved, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify a cause. Further, such thinking has the implicit implication that all outcomes can be tracked back to a set of initial conditions. This discounts the potential for genuine novelty or innovation and is in contrast to our experience of reality.

Through the mechanics of mutual feedback loops, systems thinking blurs the separation between cause and effect. A mutual feedback loop is where two interacting entities modify each other through feedback. Conversations and negotiations are good examples of mutual feedback loops. A further example can be observed in the relation between the *Free Flow*

Systems and the Nation State

Super System
**ATMOSPHERE,
BIOSPHERE, OCEANS**

Sub System

**INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY**

**INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY**

Nation
State

Nation
State

Nation
State

Nation
State

The smallest sub system can interact directly with the largest super system.

NATION STATE

House
holds

Markets

Govts

The nation state is both a super and sub system depending on the field of view.
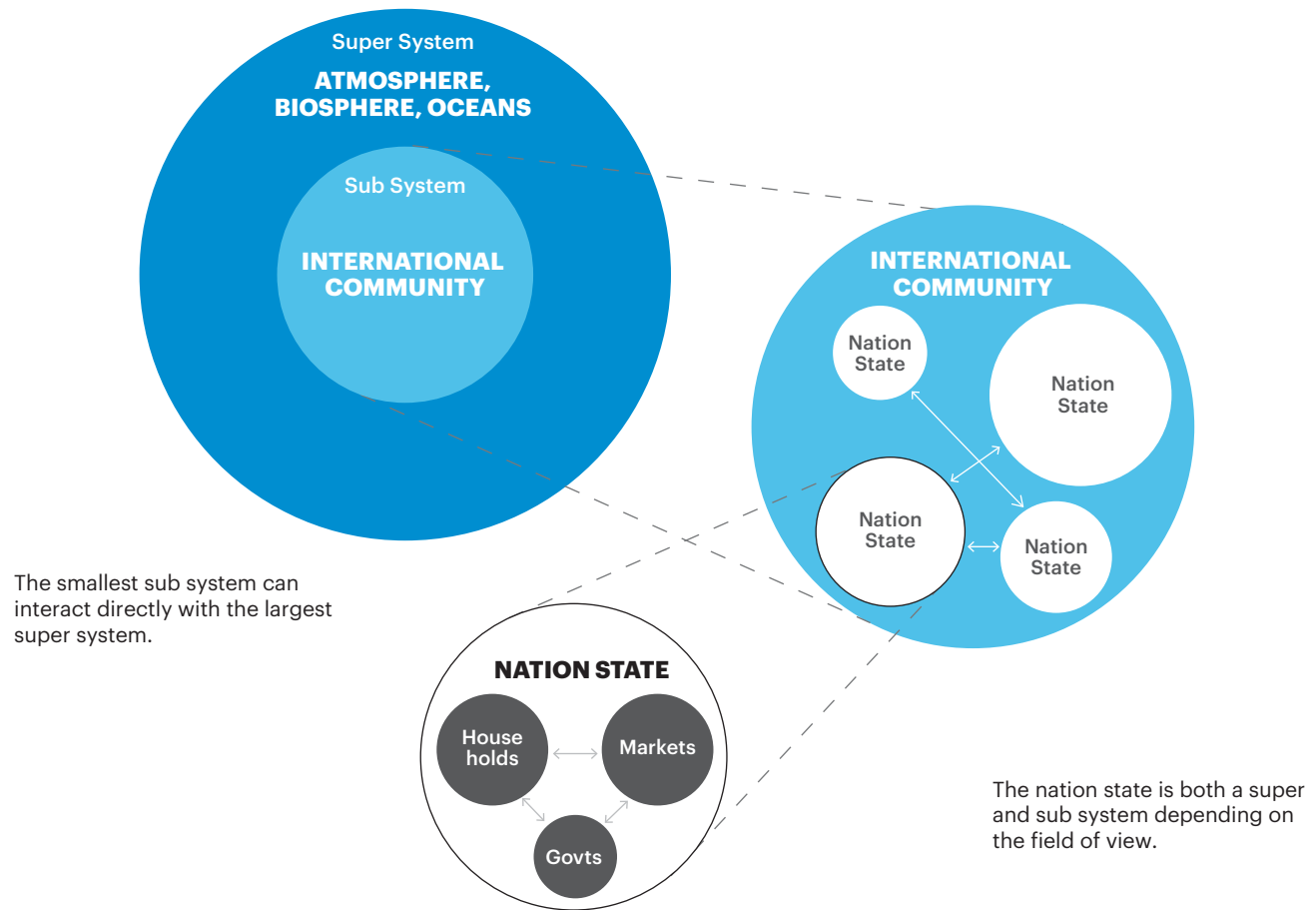
Source: IEP

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of Information and a *Well-functioning Government*. Governments can regulate what information is available; however, information can also change governments. Both will respond to the action of the other. In systems thinking, a "cause" is seen not as an independent force, but as an input into a system which then reacts, thereby producing an effect. The difference in reaction is due to different encoded norms, or values by which society self-organises.

The concept of mutual feedback loops gives rise to the notion of causeless correlations and forms the basis of Positive Peace. Statistically significant correlations describe macro relationships, but the interactions within the dynamics of the system and the causal relationships will vary depending on the particular circumstances.

Furthermore, from a systems perspective, each "causal" factor does not need to be understood. Rather, multiple interactions that stimulate the system in a particular way negate the need to understand all the causes. Processes can also be mutually causal. For example, as corruption increases, regulations are created, which in turn changes the way corruption is undertaken. Similarly, improved health services provide for a more productive workforce, which in turn provides the government with revenue and more money to invest in health.

Systems are also susceptible to tipping points in which a small

action can change the structure of the whole system. The Arab Spring began when a Tunisian street vendor who set himself alight because he couldn't earn enough money to support himself. The relationship between corruption and peace follows a similar pattern. IEP research has found that increases in corruption have little effect until a certain point, after which even small increases in corruption can result in large deteriorations in peace.

Homeostasis & Self-Modification

Homeostasis is the process by which systems aim to maintain a certain state or equilibrium. An example of this is the self-regulation of the body temperature of a mammal. If the body starts to overheat, then it begins to sweat; if the body becomes cold, then the metabolism will adjust.

The system attempts to make small adjustments based on the way inputs are interpreted by its encoded norms so that future inputs are within acceptable bounds. The same model of understanding can be applied to nations. Nations maintain homeostasis through their encoded norms, such as views toward appropriate behaviours of its citizens and expected responses of government to societal change.

One of the key differences between natural systems, such as the weather or the oceans, and biological systems is that biological

systems have intent. Analogously, countries or nations also have intent. For example, when Costa Rica abolished its military in 1948, the government at the time arguably had the intent not to go to war.

Encoded norms can also create mutual feedback loops. When the input comes from another system, the response may alter future inputs from that system. Think of two groups who are continuously modifying their responses based on the action of the other, such as two football teams who are continuously modifying their tactics based on the interactions in the game. In a democratic nation, this continual change based on the actions of the other can be observed in the continuous interactions and adjustments between two political parties, or the shaping of news based on public sentiment. The sentiment shapes the news, but the news also shapes sentiment.

Systems have the ability to modify their behaviour based on the input that they receive from their environment. For example, the desire to seek food when hungry or the release of T-cells in response to infection are encoded reactions to inputs. For the nation state, as inflation increases, interest rates are raised to dampen demand. When an infectious disease outbreak occurs, medical resources are deployed to fix it.

Feedback loops provide the system with knowledge of its performance or non-performance in relation to its intentions. Given this, it is possible to analyse political systems through their feedback loops to better understand how successfully they may be performing. An example would be measuring how political organisations within a society respond to inputs that align or misalign with their intentions. Similarly, social values can be better recognised using the mutual feedback model. For example, the mutual feedback model can help us understand what behaviours are shunned and what behaviours are encouraged within a society and why.

When unchecked or operating in isolation, feedback loops can lead to runaway growth or collapse. In cultures, their role can be constructive or destructive. However, feedback loops are fundamental in promoting self-modification, which allows the nation state to evolve to a higher level of complexity. The effect of mutual feedback loops can be the accumulation of capital, the intensification of poverty, the spread of disease or the proliferation of new ideas.

If the external or internal factors of the nation pressure the system into persistent imbalance, then a new level of complexity needs to be developed to maintain stability. Within the biosphere, it could be the mutation of a species so its offspring are better adapted to their environment. For the nation, this may take the form of major shifts within the system.

Successful adaptation to systemic imbalances is more likely when the nation has higher levels of Positive Peace. This is empirically demonstrated through the relationship between high Positive Peace and the reduced impact of shocks. For example, increases in the population of a country place stress on agricultural resources. The nation can respond by implementing measures which improve the yield of the available land while building an export industry to produce capital for the importation of food. Without an adequate response, the system would slowly degrade and potentially lead to collapse.

Homeostasis and self-modification

Homeostasis occurs when there is balance between a system's internal goals and its performance. If performance persistently is not matched to a nation state's goals, it will self-modify and adapt. Once this change has occurred, the nation state will redefine its goals and attempt to maintain the new homeostasis.
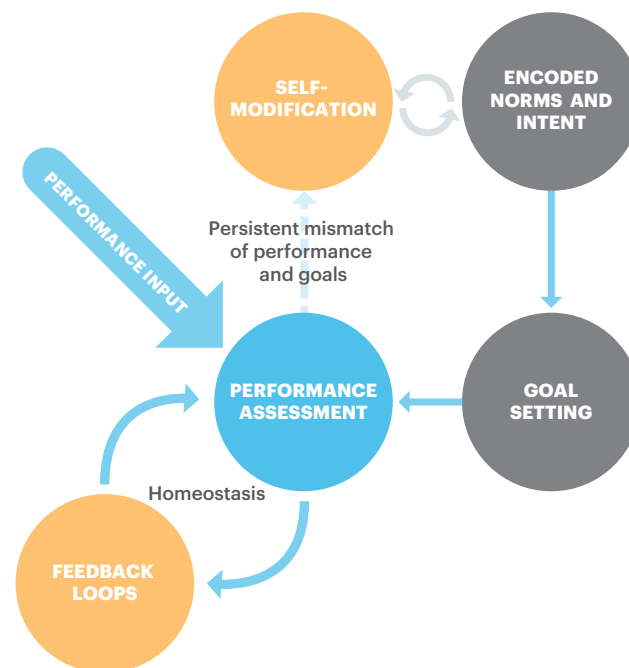
Source: IEP

Figure A.2 shows the process for homeostasis and self-modification. Encoded norms and intent set the goals for the nation state. The performance of the nation in relation to its intent and encoded norms is then assessed by receiving either internal or external input. When the nation state is fulfilling its intentions, the feedback loops make minor adjustments to maintain homeostasis. However, when the nation state's performance is persistently mismatched to its intent, it can begin a process of self-modification. This allows the system to adjust its encoded norms or intent so that it adapts to the new conditions. Though figure A.2 depicts this process using a simple process diagram, in reality, these mechanisms are complex and dynamic.

The relationship between the nation state and other systems, such as the biosphere and atmosphere, is key to the survival of humanity. If these systems become incapacitated, then nations are also weakened. Similarly, acknowledging the interdependence between nation states and other systems should fundamentally alter the way in which we handle these complex relationships.

When applying systems thinking to nation states, it is important not to overcomplicate the analysis. What is essential is to view the system as a set of relationships rather than a set of events and to understand the most important feedback loops. Positive Peace provides a framework through which we can understand and approach systemic change, moving from simple causality to holistic action.

POSITIVE PEACE AS A

Positive Peace provides a theory of change that explains the functioning

MISSION
To help create a world that is more peaceful and fulfilling for the majority of the people on the planet

STATEMENT
Positive Peace creates the optimal environment for human potential to flourish.

The 'theory of change' framework is tool that shows the logical steps from the inputs behind a policy or program to the outputs and outcomes that are expected to result.

Positive Peace consists of eight Pillars that have been empirically derived. It describes the major factors that govern change within a society. These factors operate inter-dependently, mutually affecting each other, therefore making it difficult to understand the true cause of any event. Systems thinking provides a model to explain the interactions and changes within the system. This means that more emphasis is placed on the relationships and flows within the system than a single event, such as a terrorist attack or the election of a controversial leader. Positive Peace describes social systems – either a country, nation or society. These types of systems are characterized by the same change processes, with increasing levels of complexity from the community to the country.

When programs or policies achieve measurable improvements in the Pillars of Positive Peace, these achievements catalyze a number of dynamics. Immediate program outputs can help to raise people's standard of living, improve information flows and can build trust and confidence. Other programs can help to resolve immediate grievances, thereby reducing the amount of conflict in society. If momentum is maintained, these successes can reinforce one another and set the stage for further progress. In other words, because of the systems dynamics, changes feed on each other, creating a virtuous cycle of cascading improvements. The opposite is also true. If Positive Peace starts to decay, then a new reinforcing set of dynamics is created, leading to a

THEORY OF CHANGE

of a nation or society and why highly peaceful societies thrive.

PROGRAMS & POLICIES	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES		
		Short term*	**Medium term***	**Long term***
Interventions to improve Positive Peace can take many forms, but they will be most effective if they: ➜ Focus on all 8 Pillars ➜ Improve many aspects of Positive Peace at once ➜ Are locally-owned ➜ Provide local solutions to local problems	Measurable improvements in the Pillars of Positive Peace	➜ Improvements in material well-being and the business environment ➜ Increased participation by citizens ➜ Reduction in grievances and improvements in perceptions of fairness	➜ Successes are reinforced via positive feedback loops ➜ Starting of a virtuous cycle with broad based improvements across society ➜ Greater resources and pathways to solve problems	➜ Moves the system to a higher level of peace, creating a new, more peaceful and productive homeostasis which can self-modify to create higher level of functioning ➜ Fewer grievances and conflicts arise, and those that do are resolved nonviolently
		*One to five years	*Five to ten years	*Ten to twenty years

Although it is usually applied to specific activities and interventions, the learning from IEP's Positive Peace research can be represented in the same way.

vicious cycle of lower well-being, a weaker economy, less transparency and higher corruption.

As successes build upon one another, the system moves to a more peaceful equilibrium. Feedback loops help the system 'reset,' so its homeostasis is at a higher level of peace and well-being. The system will persistently return to homeostasis through feedback loops, which is why building Positive Peace requires a number of sustained interventions. Positive Peace works slowly over time. Radical changes to systems are likely to break the system, therefore change is more like continually nudging the system in the right direction. The most effective systemic change is widespread and incremental.

The diagram above presents IEP's most up-to-date understanding of how increasing levels of Positive Peace creates the optimum environment for human potential to flourish and leads to societies free from violence. Interventions to improve Positive Peace can be implemented by governments, businesses, civil society organizations, or groups of young people or volunteers, as has been the case in IEP's Positive Peace workshops. Outputs are the measurable things that the programs produce, such as a 30 per cent increase in school attendance and the outcomes are the social changes that result, e.g., improved *High Levels of Human Capital* in the community.

1

Positive Peace Index, Results & Trends

Key Findings

→ Positive Peace improved 2.4 per cent globally over the last 12 years.

→ Seven out of nine world regions improved in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2017. North America and the Middle East and North Africa were the only two exceptions.

→ Seven of the eight Pillars have improved since 2005, but *Low Levels of Corruption* was 2.4 per cent worse by 2017.

→ The largest improvements in Positive Peace occurred in Côte d'Ivoire, Georgia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia and Belarus. These countries however began from low levels of Positive Peace in 2005.

→ Russia and Eurasia, Asia-Pacific, and South Asia had the largest regional improvements, at 5.8 per cent, 4.8 per cent and 4.3 per cent respectively.

→ The consistent year-on-year improvement from 2005 to 2013 is indicative of almost a decade of global progress, particularly in *Sound Business Environment* and *Free Flow of Information*. However, results since 2013 have been more erratic.

→ The largest deteriorations in Positive Peace occurred in Syria, Greece, Yemen, Central African Republic and Equatorial Guinea.

The Positive Peace Index (PPI) measures the Positive Peace of 163 countries, covering 99.6 per cent of the world's population. The PPI is the only known global, quantitative approach to defining and measuring positive peace. This body of work provides an actionable platform for development and can help improve social factors, governance and economic development as well as peace. It can also provide the foundation for researchers to further deepen their understanding of the empirical relationships between peace and development. It stands as one of the few holistic and empirical studies to identify the positive factors that create and sustain peaceful societies.

Positive Peace provides a theory of change. The Pillars of Positive Peace describe an optimal environment for human potential to flourish, and the Pillars provide a framework to guide policy towards higher levels of peace and happiness, more robust economies and societies that are resilient and more adaptable to change.

IEP takes a systems approach to peace, drawing on a range of recent research. In order to construct the PPI, IEP analysed over 4,700 different datasets, indices and attitudinal surveys in conjunction with current thinking about the drivers of violent conflict, resilience and peacefulness. The result of this research is an eight-part taxonomy of the factors associated with peaceful societies. These eight domains, or Pillars of Positive Peace, were derived from the datasets that had the strongest correlation with internal peacefulness as measured by the Global Peace Index, an index which uses the "absence of violence or the fear of violence" as its definition of peace. The PPI measures the eight Pillars using three indicators for each. The indicators represent the best available globally-comparable data with the strongest statistically significant relationship to levels of peace within a country. The 24 indicators that make up the PPI are listed in table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1

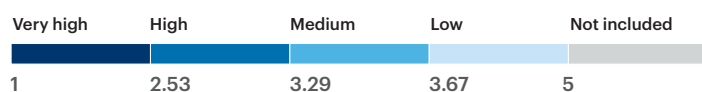# Positive Peace Index pillars and indicators

IEP uses 24 indicators in the PPI that have been statistically derived to reflect the best available measurements of Positive Peace.

Positive Peace Factors	Indicator	Description	Source
Well-functioning Government	Democratic political culture	Measures whether the electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and culture support secular democracy.	EIU
	Government effectiveness	Reflects perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.	World Bank
	Rule of law	Reflects perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.	World Bank
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	Measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility.	Legatum Institute
	Index of Economic Freedom	Measures individual freedoms and protection of freedoms to work, produce, consume, and invest unconstrained by the state.	Heritage Foundation
	GDP per capita	GDP per capita	World Bank
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	Measures the fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines.	Fragile States Index, Fund for Peace
	Corruption Perceptions Index	Scores countries based on how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be.	Transparency International
	Control of corruption	Captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption.	World Bank
High Levels of Human Capital	Secondary school enrolment	The ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age.	World Bank
	Global Innovation Index	The Global Innovation Index (GII) aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation and provide the tools that can assist in tailoring policies to promote long-term output growth, improved productivity, and job growth.	Cornell University
	Youth Development Index	YDI measures the status of 15-29 year-olds in according to five key Pillars: Education, Health and Well-being, Employment, Civic Participation and Political Participation.	Commonwealth Secretariat
Free Flow of Information	Freedom of the Press Index	A composite measure of the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom.	Freedom House
	Mobile phone subscription rate	Number of mobile phone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants.	ITU
	World Press Freedom Index	Ranks countries based on media pluralism and independence, respect for the safety and freedom of journalists, and the legislative, institutional and infrastructural environment in which the media operate.	Reporters Without Borders
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	Measures social attitudes toward foreigners and private property.	EIU
	Number of visitors	Number of visitors as per cent of the domestic population.	EIU
	Regional integration	Measures the extent of a nation's trade-based integration with other states.	EIU
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality scores countries based on both average life expectancy and the degree of inequality in life expectancy between groups.	UNDP HDI
	Social mobility	Measures the potential for upward social mobility based on the degree to which either merit or social networks determine an individual's success.	IDP
	Poverty gap	The mean shortfall from the poverty line at $2 per day PPP (counting the non-poor as having zero shortfall), expressed as a % of the poverty line.	World Bank
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Empowerment Index	An additive index using indicators of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers' rights, political participation, and freedom of religion.	CIRI
	Group grievance rating	Measures the extent and severity of grievances between groups in society, including religious, ethnic, sectarian and political discrimination and division.	Fund For Peace
	Gender Inequality Index	The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects women's disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.	UNDP HDI

2018 POSITIVE PEACE INDEX
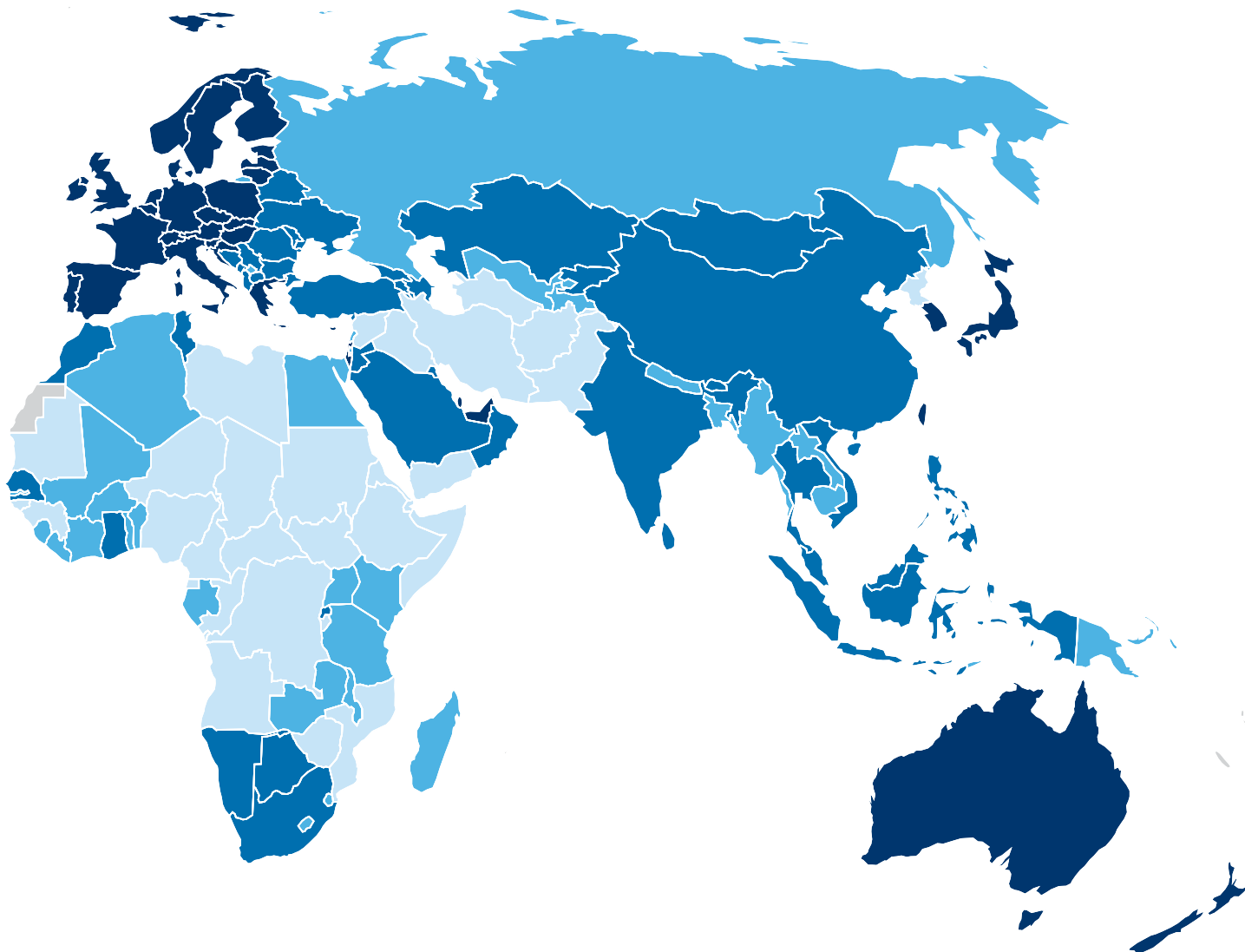
A SNAPSHOT OF THE GLOBAL LEVELS OF POSITIVE PEACE

THE STATE OF POSITIVE PEACE

Very high	High	Medium	Low	Not included
1	2.53	3.29	3.67	5

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
1	Sweden	1.25	29	Chile	2.07	56	Kuwait	2.8
2	Finland	1.28	30	Cyprus	2.09	58	Serbia	2.82
3	Norway	1.29	31	Latvia	2.11	59	Macedonia	2.91
4	Switzerland	1.33	32	Israel	2.12	60	Saudi Arabia	2.92
5	Netherlands	1.36	33	Slovakia	2.18	60	South Africa	2.92
6	Ireland	1.4	33	United Arab Emirates	2.18	62	Mexico	2.93
7	Denmark	1.42	35	Costa Rica	2.2	63	Bhutan	2.94
8	New Zealand	1.44	36	Mauritius	2.23	63	Colombia	2.94
9	Germany	1.46	37	Poland	2.25	63	Dominican Republic	2.94
9	Iceland	1.46	38	Hungary	2.28	66	Ghana	2.96
11	Australia	1.51	39	Qatar	2.37	66	Peru	2.96
11	Canada	1.51	40	Taiwan	2.38	68	Tunisia	2.97
11	United Kingdom	1.51	41	Jamaica	2.39	69	Brazil	2.98
14	Austria	1.52	42	Croatia	2.41	70	El Salvador	2.99
15	Belgium	1.67	43	Greece	2.44	71	Guyana	3.01
15	Singapore	1.67	44	Botswana	2.54	72	China	3.02
17	France	1.72	45	Bulgaria	2.55	73	Mongolia	3.03
18	United States	1.75	45	Romania	2.55	74	Armenia	3.07
19	Japan	1.8	47	Malaysia	2.59	74	Belarus	3.07
20	Portugal	1.81	48	Panama	2.64	74	Kazakhstan	3.07
21	Estonia	1.82	49	Trinidad and Tobago	2.67	74	Thailand	3.07
22	Slovenia	1.89	50	Montenegro	2.68	78	Bosnia & Herzegovina	3.08
23	Spain	1.94	51	Oman	2.69	79	Morocco	3.11
24	Czech Republic	1.97	52	Argentina	2.71	79	Sri Lanka	3.11
25	Lithuania	2.02	53	Albania	2.72	81	Jordan	3.12
26	Uruguay	2.04	54	Namibia	2.76	82	Indonesia	3.14
27	Italy	2.05	55	Georgia	2.77	83	Moldova	3.15
27	Korea	2.05	56	Bahrain	2.8	83	Ukraine	3.15

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
85	Vietnam	3.17	113	Malawi	3.48	141	Libya	3.88
86	Senegal	3.19	114	Egypt	3.5	142	Guinea	3.89
87	India	3.21	115	Cambodia	3.52	142	Niger	3.89
87	Turkey	3.21	116	Cote d'Ivoire	3.54	144	Burundi	3.9
89	Ecuador	3.24	116	Nepal	3.54	144	Cameroon	3.9
89	Philippines	3.24	118	Algeria	3.55	144	Pakistan	3.9
91	Paraguay	3.25	119	Bangladesh	3.56	147	Guinea-Bissau	3.96
92	Rwanda	3.26	119	Kenya	3.56	148	Angola	3.99
93	Nicaragua	3.28	119	Kosovo	3.56	149	Turkmenistan	4
94	Azerbaijan	3.29	122	Madagascar	3.57	150	Zimbabwe	4.01
94	Guatemala	3.29	123	Papua New Guinea	3.58	151	Afghanistan	4.14
94	Kyrgyz Republic	3.29	123	Tajikistan	3.58	152	Dem. Rep Congo	4.15
97	Lesotho	3.31	125	Mali	3.59	152	Iraq	4.15
98	Burkina Faso	3.33	125	Myanmar	3.59	152	Sudan	4.15
98	Cuba	3.33	127	Laos	3.6	155	Syria	4.16
98	Honduras	3.33	128	Sierra Leone	3.64	156	Chad	4.17
101	Gabon	3.34	128	Uzbekistan	3.64	157	Equatorial Guinea	4.18
102	Tanzania	3.35	130	Togo	3.65	158	North Korea	4.2
103	Benin	3.36	131	Liberia	3.67	159	South Sudan	4.23
104	Russia	3.37	132	Ethiopia	3.69	160	Eritrea	4.25
105	Eswatini	3.38	133	Djibouti	3.7	161	Yemen	4.31
106	Timor-Leste	3.41	134	Iran	3.71	162	Central African Rep	4.44
107	Bolivia	3.43	135	Mozambique	3.73	163	Somalia	4.56
107	The Gambia	3.43	136	Haiti	3.78			
107	Uganda	3.43	137	Venezuela	3.79			
107	Zambia	3.43	138	Rep of the Congo	3.84			
111	Lebanon	3.44	139	Mauritania	3.86			
112	Palestine	3.47	140	Nigeria	3.87			

GLOBAL TRENDS
IN POSITIVE PEACE

The global average PPI score has improved by 2.4 per cent since 2005. Figure 1.1 highlights the global trend in Positive Peace. Changes in Positive Peace occur slowly and take many years to materialize because institution building and changes in social norms are long-term processes. As such, global changes in the PPI Pillars happen relatively slowly, and even slight changes in global Positive Peace can be considered important.

The consistent year-on-year improvement from 2005 to 2013 is indicative of almost a decade of global progress, particularly in *Sound Business Environment* and *Free Flow of Information.* However, results since 2013 have been more erratic. While additional years of data are needed to establish a new trend, the rises and falls in Positive Peace since 2013 are discussed more fully later in this section.

Figure 1.2 shows the percentage change from 2005 to 2017 for all eight Pillars of Positive Peace. The Pillar scores represent composite indicators of several *attitudes, institutions and structures* within society. These scores reflect gradual changes within complex social systems and typically do not fluctuate drastically year-to-year. As such, since 2005, the average Pillar score has changed by just 3.3 per cent, and no Pillar score has changed by more than 9 per cent. The slow-moving nature of Positive Peace calls for long-term planning and sustained investment in improving the Pillars.

Individual indicators within the Pillars register change more quickly and dramatically, as illustrated in Figure 1.3. Because

Positive Peace works as a system where each factor affects the others, it is important to be aware of which indicators tend to change quickly and which move more slowly. For example, the average score for the *mobile phone subscription rate* has improved by 32.4 per cent since 2005, indicating a rapid increase in access to information. At the other end of the spectrum, the *World Press Freedom Index* has deteriorated by 13.6 per cent and factionalized elites by 8.3 per cent. The *factionalized elites* indicator measures "the fragmentation of state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines,"[1] which can enable corruption.[2] Although access to information is improving around the world, the deterioration in press freedom and fractionalisation is contributing to less informed societies.

Seven out of nine world regions improved in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2017. North America and the Middle East and North Africa were the only two exceptions, as shown in figure 1.4. Russia and Eurasia, Asia-Pacific, and South Asia had the largest regional improvements, at 5.8 per cent, 4.8 per cent and 4.3 per cent respectively. By and large, increased connectivity drove the improvement around the world, with 161 out of 163 countries showing a rising rate of mobile phone access. Similarly, 130 countries have improved their *business environment*, which is likely to go hand-in-hand with increased connectivity and access to technology and information.

Russia and Eurasia showed the largest gains overall, with improvements in all eight Pillars. Of those, *Free Flow of*

FIGURE 1.1

Trend in the global average PPI score, 2005–2017

The global average Positive Peace score improved substantially from 2005 to 2013, but progress has been uneven in recent years.
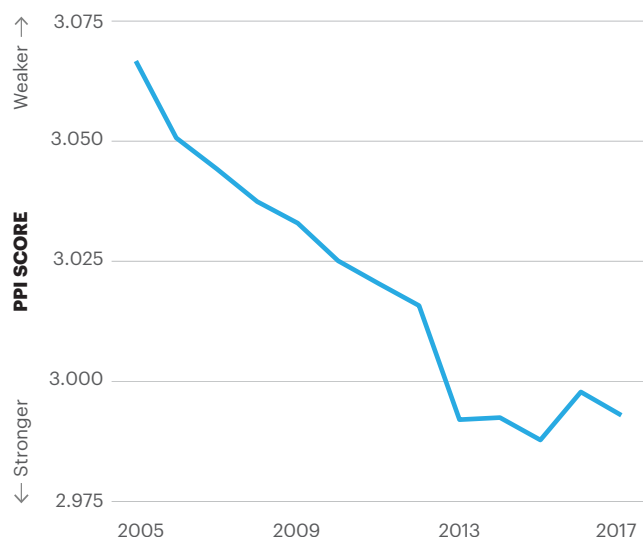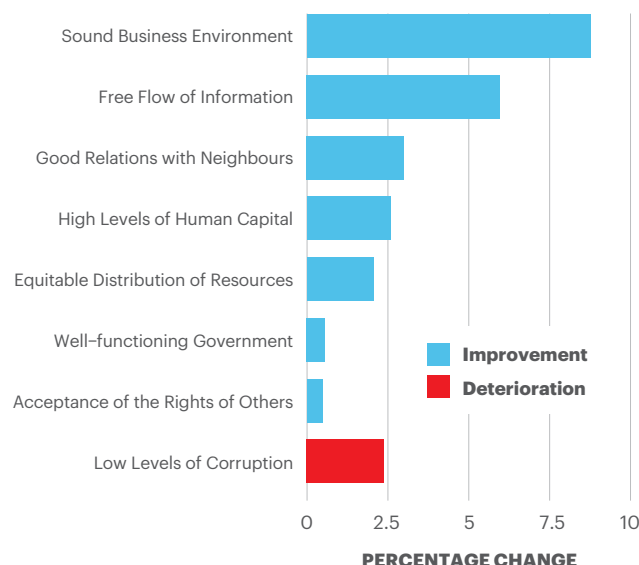

Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.2

Percentage change in Positive Peace Pillars, 2005 - 2017

Seven of the eight Pillars have improved since 2005, but *Low Levels of Corruption* was 2.4 per cent worse by 2017.
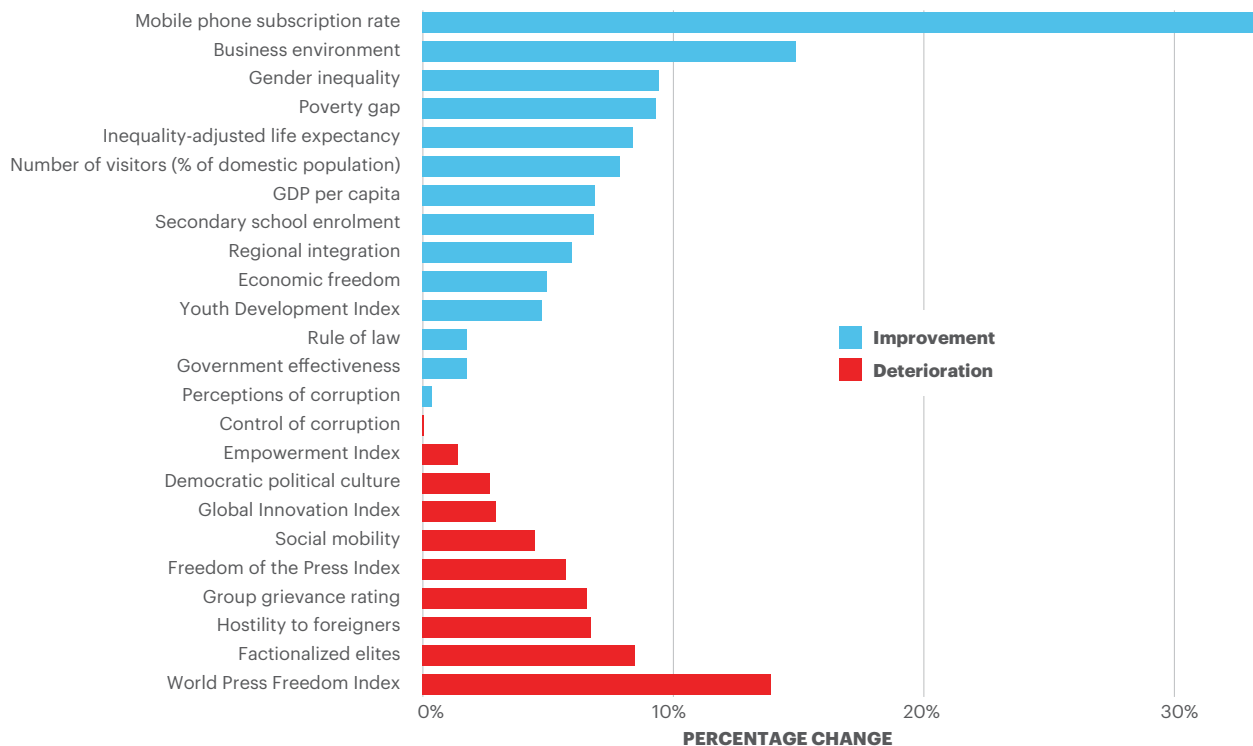

Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.3

Percentage change in PPI indicators, 2005–2017

Mobile phone subscription rate recorded the largest improvement while *World Press Freedom Index* recorded the largest deterioration.

Source: IEP

Information and *Sound Business Environment* experienced the most progress, both improving by more than 11 per cent. These developments were driven by a 46 per cent improvement in the *mobile phone subscription rate* and a 17 per cent improvement in the *business environment*. The region's *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* score only improved by 0.6 per cent, inhibited by a 9.4 per cent deterioration in the region's *group grievance rating*. Overall, however, Russia and Eurasia's Positive Peace score improved by 5.8 per cent.

Seven out of the eight Pillars improved in **South Asia**, driving a 4.8 per cent improvement in the region's overall Positive Peace score. *Well-Functioning Government*, the one Pillar that did not improve, experienced a minor deterioration of less than one per cent. South Asia's *Free Flow of Information* score improved by 18.4 per cent, the result of a 36 per cent improvement in the region's *mobile phone subscription rate* score. The region also improved by 9 per cent in its *Equitable Distribution of Resources* score, based on significant reductions in poverty.[3] This is a significant accomplishment given the fact that South Asia has historically grappled with socioeconomic stratification.

North America's overall Positive Peace score has deteriorated by 4.5 per cent since 2005. Although Canada still demonstrates stronger levels of Positive Peace than the United States, both countries experienced a deterioration. *Low Levels of Corruption, Equitable Distribution of Resources*, and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* experienced the region's largest deteriorations— each by more than 18 per cent since 2005. North America's *factionalized elites* indicator score depreciated by a substantial

FIGURE 1.4

Percentage change in average regional scores, 2005 - 2017

North America and MENA are the only regions that did not improve in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017. In North America, both the United States and Canada showed slight deteriorations in Positive Peace over the period.
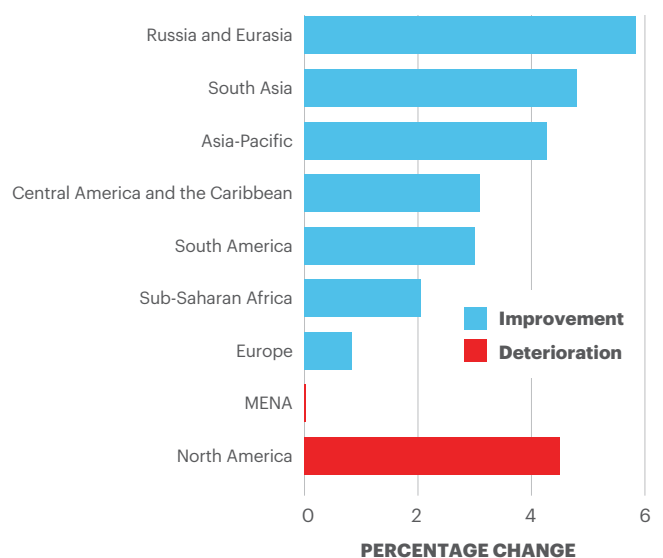
Source: IEP

84 per cent, reflecting increased political polarization, especially in the US. As discussed in Section 3 of this report, simultaneous deteriorations in *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* can be precursors to further systemic issues. While the US is more at risk than Canada, both countries deteriorated in these domains.

The **Middle East and North Africa** (MENA) has been more or less stagnant in Positive Peace since 2005, registering a 0.03 per cent deterioration. Similar to North America, MENA experienced a smaller but still notable 6.8 per cent deterioration in *Low Levels of Corruption*. The region's *Well-Functioning Government* score has deteriorated by three per cent as well, pulled down by the ongoing armed conflicts in the region. These Pillar deteriorations have been partly offset by improvements in *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environment*; both of these Pillars have improved by more than six per cent.

Improvement in the MENA region's *Free Flow of Information* stems from a 37.3 per cent improvement in the region's *mobile phone subscription rate* indicator score. Overall, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* deteriorated by 0.3 per cent, while the region's *gender inequality* indicator score has improved by 13.6 per cent. The combination of improvements and deteriorations resulted in a stagnant overall score. Section 3 of this report discusses the potential risks that come with improvements in some Pillars without corresponding improvements through the rest of the Positive Peace system.

Results by income and government type

A country's level of wealth can both affect and be affected by progress in Positive Peace. Figure 1.6 shows that high-income countries have the highest level of Positive Peace on average. National wealth is in part determined by access to resources. However, strength in all eight Pillars of Positive Peace underpins an environment that creates broader social and economic development, thereby encouraging per capita income growth.

This section uses the World Bank classification of income type, which groups countries into four tiers of per capita gross national income (GNI): high income, upper-middle income, lower-middle income and low income. High-income countries tend to be the most peaceful and low-income countries tend to be the least peaceful.

The 30 countries at the top of the PPI are all high-income, illustrating a recognizable correlation between Positive Peace and economic prosperity. Positive Peace can often act as a driver of economic prosperity while economic prosperity also acts as a driver of peace.

Consider the relationship between three Pillars: *High Levels of Human Capital* and a *Sound Business Environment* bolster a country's economy. A *Well-Functioning Government* will ensure law-and-order, provide stability and respond to the needs of its citizens—factors that further contribute to economic success. Prosperity leads to more funding for endeavours that reinforce the Positive Peace Pillars, such as educational services, unemployment programs and health services. Under the right circumstances, Positive Peace and economics can create a virtuous cycle, with improvements in one driving improvements in the other.

Conversely, it can be difficult to promote Positive Peace without sufficient finances or aid. Countries with some of the lowest levels of Positive Peace often sorely lack the funds necessary to improve their situations. Furthermore, once a country enters a period of conflict, it becomes more challenging and costly to rebuild the Pillars. Yet ironically, peacebuilding and peacekeeping spending account for a mere two per cent of the total global cost of conflict. More data on the relationship between peace and economics can be found in IEP's latest report on the Economic Value of Peace.

FIGURE 1.5

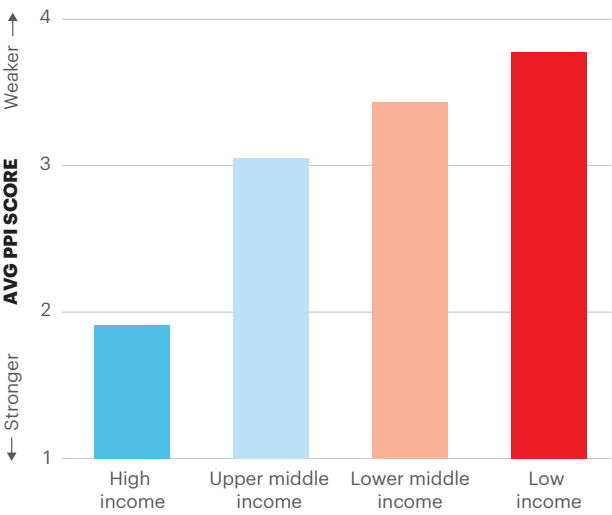## Positive Peace by government type, 2017

Full democracies have the strongest average levels of Positive Peace.
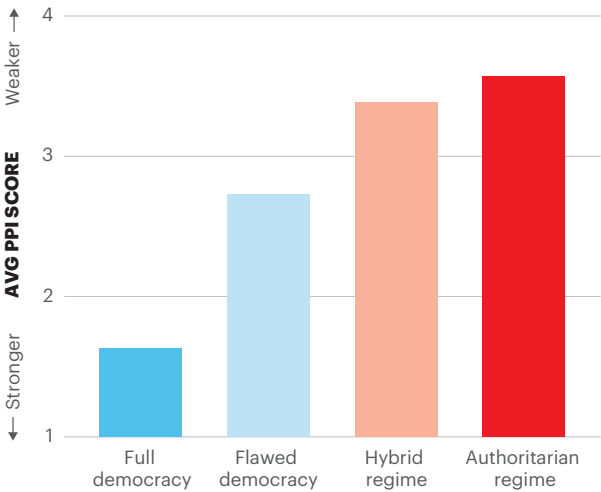
Source: EIU, IEP

FIGURE 1.6

Positive Peace by income group, 2017

High income countries have the strongest levels of Positive Peace.

Source: World Bank, IEP

Government type has an apparent relationship with Positive Peace as well, as shown in figure 1.5. Globally, there are 24 full democracies, 51 flawed democracies, 33 hybrid regimes and 51 authoritarian regimes. Full democracies tend to score better on the PPI, while authoritarian regimes record relatively poorer scores. These results reflect the important role that social and governmental structures play in social development.

It is important to note that there are exceptions to this trend. A number of authoritarian regimes, flawed regimes and hybrid regimes score well in Positive Peace. More than half of the top 50 countries in the PPI are not full democracies, however, only two are authoritarian regimes. Still, the top ten countries are all full democracies, evidencing the strong link between Positive Peace and democracy. High levels of democracy positively impact a variety of other Positive Peace factors. When a government is responsive to the needs and wishes of its citizens, it is more capable of supporting a *Sound Business Environment*, more open to the *Free Flow of Information*, more likely to promote *High Levels of Human Capital* and so forth. Statistically, the correlation between *Well-Functioning Government* and PPI overall score is very high.[4]

Uneven progress: results since 2013

While Positive Peace has improved around the world over the last 12 years (the period measured by the PPI), progress has been inconsistent since 2013. From 2005 to 2013, the average global score improved every single year. However, that trend abruptly stagnated in 2014, with no measureable improvement that year, and has been erratic since. To explore this more deeply, Figure

1.7 shows the changes in PPI score from 2013 to 2017 compared to progress from 2005 to 2012.

From 2005 to 2013, six of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace either improved or remained stable:

- *Sound Business Environment* improved at a rate of just over one percent annually.
- *Free Flow of Information* had an annual growth rate of 0.7 per cent.
- *Good Relations with Neighbours* improved at 0.2 per cent annually.
- *Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *High Levels of Human Capital* improved at about 0.4 and 0.2 per cent each year, respectively.
- *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* improved by a marginal 0.04 per cent.
- *Well-functioning Government* and *Low Levels of Corruption* were the two pillars that showed minor deteriorations.

However, post-2013, four Pillars either continued to deteriorate or reversed trend:

- From 2013 to 2017, *Free Flow of Information* deteriorated by 0.4 per cent annually.
- *Equitable Distribution of Resources* deteriorated by 0.3 per cent annually.
- *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* deteriorated by approximately 0.2 per cent annually.
- *Well-functioning Government*, on the other hand, improved 1.5 per cent annually.

FIGURE 1.7

Annual percentage change in the Pillars of Positive Peace

Improvements in *Sound Business Environment, Free Flow of Information* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* between 2005 and 2012 made significant contributions to global improvements in Positive Peace. However, *Free Flow of Information* has deteriorated significantly in the last few years. *Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *Acceptance of Rights of Others* have also experienced deteriorations.
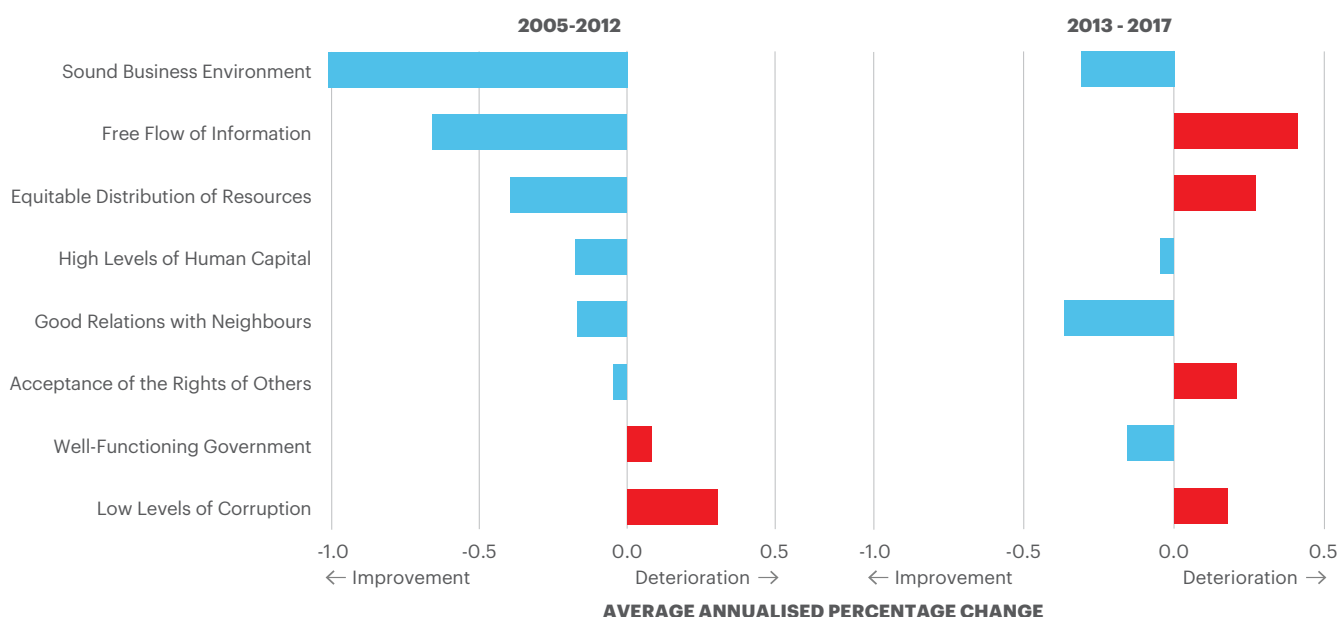
Source: IEP

RISERS & FALLERS IN
POSITIVE PEACE

FIGURE 1.8

Largest changes in Positive Peace, 2005–2017

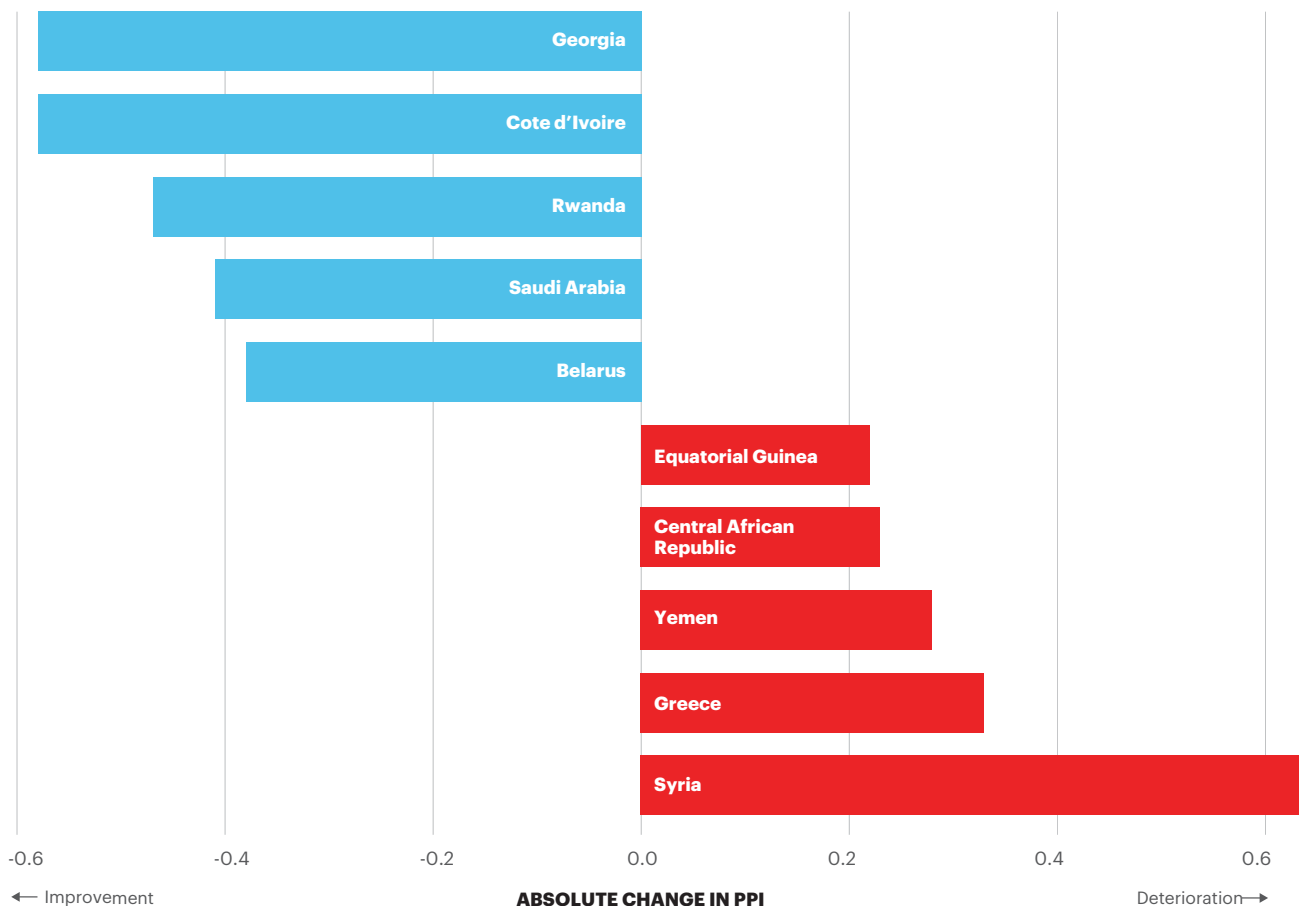Cote d'Ivoire and Georgia recorded the largest improvements in PPI between 2005 and 2017, while Syria experienced the largest deterioration. A decrease in score represents an improvement in Positive Peace.

Source: IEP

The majority of countries in the PPI — 111 out of 163 countries, or just over 68 per cent — demonstrated an improvement in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2017. The countries that experienced the greatest shifts in PPI scores, either positively or negatively, were spread across many regions, income groups and initial levels of Positive Peace.

Progress in Positive Peace materializes slowly, in large part because it supports resilience, or the ability to maintain stability in the face of changes and shocks. Countries may show little change in a single year, but looking at progress over several years can indicate the direction a country is headed. This section presents the countries that have demonstrated the largest changes, positively or negatively, since 2005. Note that a reduction in score indicates an improvement in Positive Peace.

The countries that experienced the largest improvements in PPI scores between 2005 and 2017 were Côte d'Ivoire, Georgia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia and Belarus, each improving by at least 12 per cent. Côte d'Ivoire and Georgia tied for the largest

absolute improvement in Positive Peace over the period. Each of the aforementioned countries started from scores between 3.3 and 4.1, all worse than the 2005 global average of 3.06. Two of the most improved countries are from sub-Saharan Africa, another two are from Russia and Eurasia and one is from MENA.

Syria, Greece, Yemen, Central African Republic and Equatorial Guinea were the countries with the largest deteriorations. Starting PPI scores amongst these countries ranged between 2.1 and 4.2. Two of the biggest deteriorating countries are from MENA, two are from sub-Saharan Africa and one country, Greece, is from Europe.

Côte d'Ivoire

CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
-0.58	**+36**
to 3.54 from 4.12	to 116 from 152

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Côte d'Ivoire

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	5.000	1.000	**-4**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.751	2.545	-2.21	ITU
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	4.288	3.112	-1.18	Legatum Institute
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Social mobility	4	4.500	**0.50**	Institutional Profiles Database

Improvement in PPI score of Côte d'Ivoire, 2005–2017

Source: IEP
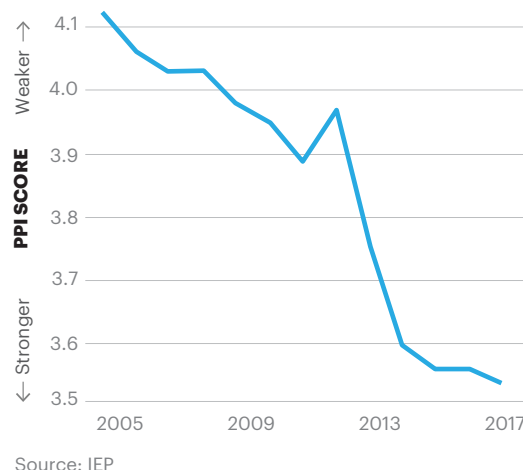
Côte d'Ivoire has improved its Positive Peace score by 14 per cent since 2005, based on improvements in *Good Relations with Neighbours*, *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environment.*

Côte d'Ivoire has recently endured two ethnic and racially charged civil wars spanning from 2002 to 2007 and 2011 to 2012. Key to both conflicts were tensions between native-born nationals of Côte d'Ivoire and the country's large immigrant population, mainly from Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea and Senegal, estimated before the escalation of violence to be up to 50 per cent of the total population.[5]

The first civil war resulted in over 4,000 people killed. At the end of 2003, the number of internally displaced persons was estimated to be between 700,000 and 1,000,000, or four to six per cent of the population.[6] The second civil war broke out in 2011 following a disputed election between long-standing Ivorian President Gbagbo and newly elected President Alassane Ouattara.[7] Though the post-electoral crisis lasted less than a year, resulting violence caused over 3,000 deaths.[8] Since 2011, the political situation in Côte d'Ivoire has become more stable, though violent protests and strikes still arise occasionally.[9]

Since the cessation of violence, openness to foreigners has improved significantly. Mobile phone subscription rates have grown while the number of landlines has decreased, illustrating a trend towards modernisation and more efficient communication.[11] The Ivorian government has also proactively promoted internet "democratization" through programs such as "One Citizen, One Computer, One Internet Connection."[11] In addition, more than a quarter of adults in Côte d'Ivoire now use mobile money—the fifth highest rate in the world.[12]

Côte d'Ivoire is also significantly investing in its Positive Peace. In December 2015, the country adopted a National Development Plan (NDP 2016-2020), a US$50 billion endeavor with the following goals:

• Enhance governance and institutions,
• Develop human capital and social welfare,
• Diversify the economy,
• Improve the standard of living, and
• Strengthen regional and international cooperation.[13]

The objectives of NDP 2016-2020 will be accomplished through steps such as the modernisation and improvement of public administration, better education and social services, a healthier business climate, access to credit for small and medium-sized businesses and major road and energy infrastructure projects.[14]

However, Ivorian society still faces challenges to Positive Peace. Côte d'Ivoire's two civil wars led to an increase in poverty and hindrances to education.[15,16] Côte d'Ivoire also has one of the world's highest levels of gender inequality, ranked 171st on the United Nations Gender Equality Index.[17] These issues have hindered some Pillars, partly offsetting other developments in Positive Peace.

Although conditions for the press have improved since the end of the first civil war, there have still been incidents of police detaining both journalists and opposition supporters.[18] Additionally, between 2011 and 2016, over 260,000 Ivorian refugees have been repatriated to Côte d'Ivoire from across Africa, Europe and Asia creating services delivery and security challenges.[19,20]

Georgia

	CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
	-0.58	**+34**
	to 2.77 from 3.35	to 55 from 89

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Georgia

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Number of visitors	4.205	1	**-3.205**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.465	2.01	-2.46	ITU
Good Relations with Neighbours	Regional integration	4	2	-2	Economist Intelligence Unit
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Group grievance rating	3.844	4.067	0.22	Fund for Peace, Fragile States Index
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Empowerment Index	3.286	3.571	0.29	CIRI, Human Rights Dataset
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	3.711	4.6	**0.89**	Fund for Peace, Fragile States Index

Improvement in PPI score of Georgia, 2005–2017
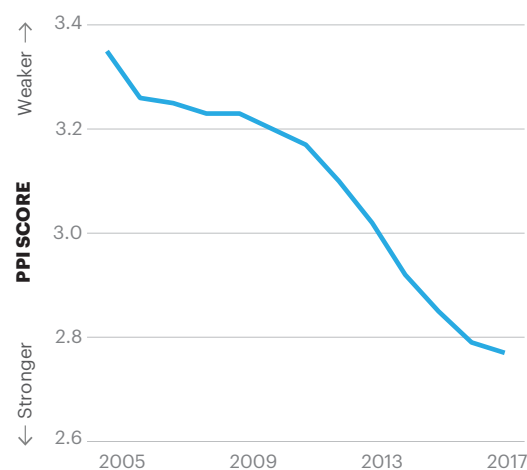
Source: IEP

Georgia achieved a 17 per cent improvement in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2017, propelling it to just one spot below the top third of the index. Improvements were largely in *Good Relations with Neighbours*, *Sound Business Environment* and *Well-functioning Government*. The simultaneous improvement in *Sound Business Environment* and *Well-functioning Government* can be expected to bolster continued progress, as discussed in Section 3 of this report. However, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* has deteriorated 3.2 per cent, and deteriorations in this Pillar can be a warning sign of future unrest.

At the intersection of Europe and Eurasia, Georgia has recently been a site of geopolitical conflict. Just a decade ago, Georgia fought a five-day war with Russia over the disputed territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Despite a history of regional tensions, Georgia has boosted its Positive Peace rankings by substantially improving in *Good Relations with Neighbours*. The number of visitors arriving in Georgia has risen dramatically since 2005. In 2017, the Georgian National Tourism Administration reported a record number of 7.9 million international traveller trips, representing an annual growth of 17.6 per cent. Of all the country's visitors, 78.5 per cent were from the neighbouring countries of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia and Turkey.[21]

These rising figures complement Georgia's improved score in regional integration. Over the past decade, the former Soviet nation has cultivated a strong trade relationship with China, established the EU-Georgia Association Agreement, joined the EU's Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area and committed itself to the NATO Response Force.[22] However, Georgia's relations with neighbouring Russia remain complicated in the aftermath of the 2008 armed conflict, partly due to Russia's continued occupation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.[23]

Georgia's internet use has also improved its Positive Peace score. Internet freedom and access in the country has steadily improved.[24] The country's second largest indicator improvement was in the *mobile phone subscription rate*, suggesting that more Georgians will now have internet access. E-Procurement became widespread in Georgia in 2015 as part of a partnership with the World Bank. It is considered one of the most important technological improvements the country has made in decades, resulting in increased transparency within government and a boost in efficiency for the Georgian business sector.[25]

Deteriorations in some Positive Peace Pillars within Georgia, though lesser in magnitude than improvements, have had a negative impact on its score. Reporters Without Borders finds that Georgian journalists are threatened and sometimes beaten. Furthermore, Georgian media is generally quite polarized along political lines.[26]

Georgia's high *group grievance rating* has further deteriorated since 2005, resultant of the displacement of people from the 2008 armed conflict, continuing border disputes in South Ossetia and pervasive ethnic tensions between Georgians and the Abkhaz people.[27] These factors have contributed to deteriorations in the country's *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Low Levels of Corruption*.[28]

Rwanda

CHANGE IN OVERALL
SCORE, 2005-2017:

-0.47

to 3.26 from 3.73

CHANGE IN RANK,
2005-2017:

+36

to 92 from 128

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Rwanda

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	3.857	1.874	**-1.98**	Legatum Institute
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.97	3.422	-1.55	ITU
Low Levels of Corruption	Control of corruption	3.853	2.513	-1.34	World Bank, World Governance Indicators
Well-Functioning Government	Democratic political culture	3.167	3.5	0.33	Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Social mobility	3.333	3.75	0.417	Institutional Profiles Database
Free Flow of Information	World Press Freedom Index	2.542	3.196	**0.65**	Reporters Without Borders

Improvement in PPI score of Rwanda, 2005–2017
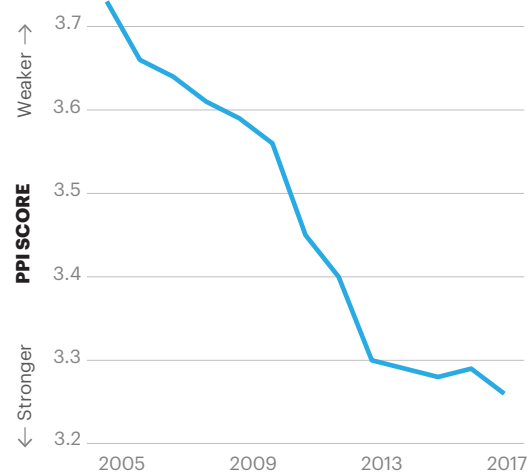
Source: IEP

Positive Peace in Rwanda has seen large improvements over the last decade, although the rate of improvement has tapered off over the last three years. The country is regarded as a model of successful post-conflict recovery, although problems persist.[29]

Improvements in Positive Peace notably stem from strong developments in Rwanda's *business environment*. Thanks to private sector-bolstering regulations and increased economic diversity, Rwanda has grown to become Africa's eighth most prosperous nation according to the Legatum Institute.[30] Vision 2020, a government-led initiative focused on Rwanda's sustainable development and green business sector, has helped to foster a prosperous Rwandan economy capable of withstanding new challenges.[31] Negotiations between the Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Agency and mobile operators have assisted with major increases in the *mobile phone subscription rate*, granting Rwandans greater access to information and the world.[32]

There have been efforts to reduce corruption through measures including lengthened prison sentences for offenders and the ratification of regional and international commitments such as the UN Convention Against Corruption. Several upper-level government officials have been arrested and sentenced for corruption, including the president's Finance Director.[33] In terms of perceived corruption, Rwanda ranks third best in Sub sub-Saharan Africa and 48th internationally, scoring higher than some OECD countries.[34]

Positive Peace in Rwanda is hindered by the government's alleged control of the media and other limits on freedom of speech within the country.[35] The deterioration in the *World*

Press Freedom Index can be attributed to journalists leaving the country because of political pressure and self-censorship of media outlets.[36]

Rwanda also experienced a 10 per cent deterioration in its democratic political culture score since 2005. In 2015 the Rwandan constitution was amended to allow President Paul Kagame to run for a third term in office and to potentially extend his tenure further.[37] On 4 August 2017, Kagame won the Presidential election with over 99 per cent of the vote, extending his term for another seven years.

Saudi Arabia

CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
-0.41	**+27**
to 2.92 from 3.33	to 60 from 87

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Saudi Arabia

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Gender Inequality Index	4.412	2.132	**-2.3**	UNDP, Human Development Index
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	3.757	1.846	-1.9	ITU
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	4.2	2.6	-1.6	Economist Intelligence Unit
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	3.888	4.2	0.31	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Well-Functioning Government	Democratic political culture	3.833	4.167	0.33	Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index
High Levels of Human Capital	Global Innovation Index	2.751	3.119	**0.37**	Cornell University

Improvement in PPI score of Saudi Arabia, 2005–2017
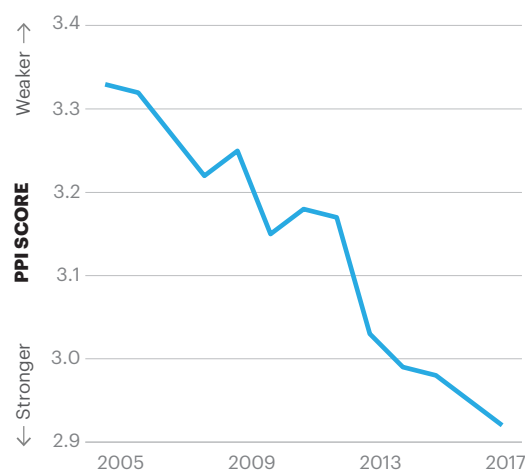
Source: IEP

Saudi Arabia has improved 14 per cent overall in Positive Peace since 2005, largely as a result of significant gains in gender equality. In 2005, the country was ranked 153rd out of 163 countries in terms of gender inequality. However, over the course of the past 12 years, Saudi Arabia has seen many positive reforms in this area. As a result, it now ranks 48th out of 163 countries with a score more than half a point better than the global average, based on data from the UNDP Gender Inequality Index.

Many recent milestones comprise this improvement in gender equality. A 2011 ruling allowed women to vote and run in municipal elections, and a 2012 decision by King Abdullah permitted female athletes to participate in the Olympics.[38] In 2013, 30 women were named to the previously all-male Shura Consultative Council, and in 2015, 20 women were elected to municipal positions in local elections. Most recently, in September 2017, the ban on women driving was formally lifted, making it legal for women to obtain a driver's licence without asking permission from a male guardian and to drive unaccompanied as of 2018.[39] The *mobile phone subscription rate* has also improved following the introduction of various market competitors. This has lowered the cost for cell phone services and made the internet more widely accessible. Eighty-eight per cent of Saudi Arabians own smart phones—the highest rate of smart phone users in the Gulf region.[40]

Additional progress in Positive Peace comes from an improved *hostility to foreigners* score. From 2006 to 2010, Saudi Arabia issued over 25,000 tourist visas, and in 2016, the Saudi Commission for Tourism and National Heritage expanded its efforts to invite visitors, encourage foreign investment and develop a profitable tourism industry.[41] Despite this, Saudi Arabia's *hostility to foreigners* remains high by global standards. Saudi Arabia has come under pressure internationally for its policies towards refugees from Yemen. In the first half of 2018, the Saudi government expelled over 17,000 Yemenis.

Despite much progress, Saudi Arabia did see deteriorations in the *Freedom of the Press Index* and *democratic political culture*. Politics are largely dominated by the country's absolute monarchy, headed by King Salman bin Saud. The king's cabinet, composed of officials which the king appoints, passes legislation that becomes law once approved by royal decree. Currently, most of the country's policies are dictated by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

Belarus

CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
-0.38	**+26**
to 3.07 from 3.45	to 74 from 100

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Belarus

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Regional integration	4	2	**-2**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.113	2.442	-1.67	ITU
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	3.974	2.973	-1	Legatum Institute
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalized elites	4.111	4.244	0.13	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
High Levels of Human Capital	Global Innovation Index	3.236	3.574	0.33	Cornell University
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Group grievance rating	3	3.711	**0.71**	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index

Improvement in PPI score of Belarus, 2005–2017
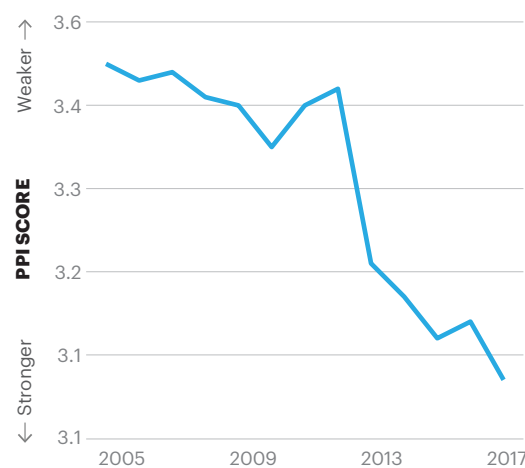
Source: IEP

Belarus improved its overall Positive Peace score by 12.4 per cent from 2005 to 2017, based on progress in seven out of eight Pillars. *High Levels of Human Capital* was the only Pillar to deteriorate in aggregate over the period, although school enrolment did rise, and Belarus remains in the top half of the rankings for this Pillar.

Belarus experienced a series of foreign relations developments over the past 12 years, driving improvement in its *regional integration*. Belarus borders the European Union but is not a member of the Council of Europe. The EU and Belarus have a history of political and economic tensions.[42] However, due to conflict in neighbouring Ukraine, growing regional tensions and a struggling economy, Belarus has sought closer relations with its European neighbours in recent years. In 2009, Belarus was admitted into the European Neighbourhood Policy, which seeks to build closer ties between the EU and its eastern and southern neighbours.[43] In 2016, the EU and United States lifted all economic sanctions against Belarus on the condition of continuing human rights improvements.[44] Belarus has also enjoyed amiable relations with Russia, the country's largest economic partner. The two countries are also culturally integrated, with 70 per cent of Belarussians speaking Russian.[45]

Between 2005 and 2016, mobile phone subscriptions in Belarus doubled from 4.1 million to more than 11.4 million, increasing the country's *Free Flow of Information*.[46] Since 2015, Belarussian telecommunications companies have prioritized data infrastructure, increasing mobile high-speed internet coverage and accessibility.[47] Unfortunately, Belarus's improvements in *Free Flow of Information* have been partially offset by government restrictions on internet freedom. According to the Legatum

Institute, Belarus is ranked 98th in the world in terms of its *business environment*. When the EU lifted economic restrictions against Belarus in 2016, it also initiated the Strengthening Private Initiative Growth in Belarus (SPRING) program, which aims to develop the Belarussian private sector through economic stimulus and business consultancy.[48] Belarus became a founding signatory of the Eurasian Economic Union, which allows free movement of goods, capital, services and people between member states.[49] Low economic inequality and poverty have also strengthened the country's *business environment*. However, state control of most of the economy and a poor legal system help explain why Belarus's *business environment* score is still relatively low.[50]

Although there have been large improvements in Belarus's Positive Peace scores, there have also been some areas of deterioration, including in *group grievances*. Protests require prior authorization, and in 2017, over 100 journalists were arrested by Belarussian authorities, including many pro and anti-Russian bloggers.[51]

Syria

CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
0.64	**-50**
to 4.16 from 3.52	to 155 from 105

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Syria

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	1	5	**4**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Well-Functioning Government	Rule of law	3.337	4.634	1.3	World Bank
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	3.711	4.956	1.24	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Good Relations with Neighbours	Number of visitors	4.378	4.175	-0.2	Economist Intelligence Unit
Sound Business Environment	Economic freedom	3.717	3.383	-0.33	Heritage Foundation, Index of Economic Freedom
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.68	3.475	**-1.2**	ITU

Deterioration in PPI score of Syria, 2005–2017
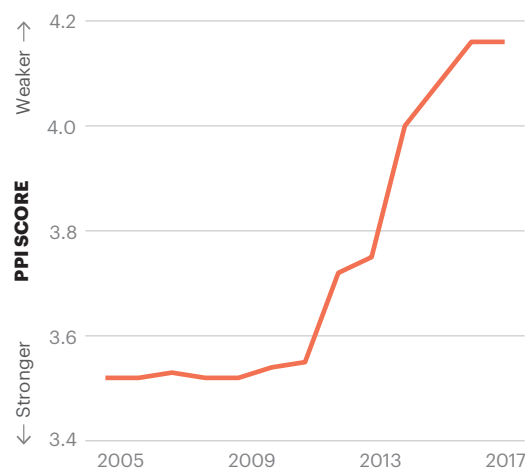
Source: IEP

Syria has shown the largest deterioration in Positive Peace of any country in the index. Fifteen out of 24 indicators have deteriorated to below pre-war levels. War has devastated much of the previous development and diminished social and economic capital, all of which will impact post-war recovery.

In 2011, Syrian security forces under President Bashar al-Assad clashed with protestors demanding the release of political prisoners.[52] This was the catalyst for a group of dynamics that plunged the state into civil war. Although the war was set off by political demonstrations, the domestic tensions underlying the conflict stem from decades of oppressive rule, and the conflict's duration and severity can be attributed to the involvement of regional and international power.

The country's *Good Relations with Neighbours* have deteriorated the most significantly of any Pillar of Peace. This is partly a result of its neighbours' involvement in the Syrian civil war. The Syrian government has also come under pressure for the illegal use of cluster munitions, incendiary weapons and chemical weapons, which are prohibited under international law.[53] Furthermore, thousands of foreign fighters have flocked to Syria to take up arms against the Assad regime. In 2013, the number of foreign fighters in Syria exceeded that of any previous conflict in the modern history of the Muslim world.[54]

The widespread conflict has forced millions of Syrians to flee into neighbouring countries. UNHCR reports that 5.6 million Syrians have sought safety as refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iraq and other countries, while 6.6 million have been internally displaced. In total, an estimated 13.1 million Syrians have been displaced since the conflict began.[55]

Well-Functioning Government in Syria has been similarly stymied by the onset of conflict. Prior to the civil war, the country's rule of law score was already poor due to arbitrary arrests, police discrimination against Kurds and unfair trials under special courts.[56] Since 2011, as many as 1,000 armed opposition groups, cumulatively composed of 100,000 fighters, have fought against the Assad regime.[57] Although Syrian government forces maintain control over most of Syria, large swaths of the country are held by rebel, Turkish, Kurdish or ISIL forces.[58]

On a more positive note, Syria's *mobile phone subscription rate* has increased the most of any of the country's indicators, increasing the *Free Flow of Information*. Eighty-one per cent of Syrians own a cell phone, and at least two thirds have mobile internet access.[59] According to UNHCR, refugees say mobile phones and internet access are as important to their security as food, shelter and water.[60] Mobile internet access among Syrian refugees also helps them connect with aid organisations.[61]

While some of Syria's Positive Peace scores have nominally improved, a major caveat to many of these indicators is that they may depend on pre-civil war calculations. It will only be possible to properly measure Positive Peace developments in Syria if the civil war ends and stability is achieved.

Greece

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>CHANGE IN OVERALL
SCORE, 2005-2017:</td><td>CHANGE IN RANK,
2005-2017:</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>**0.33**
to 2.44 from 2.11</td><td>**-14**
to 43 from 29</td></tr>
</table>

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Greece

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Social mobility	2	4	**2**	Institutional Profiles Database
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	1	2.6	1.6	Economist Intelligence Unit
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalized elites	1.222	2.378	1.16	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	3.082	2.625	-0.46	ITU
Low Levels of Corruption	Perceptions of corruption	3.587	3.004	-0.58	Transparency International
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	3.266	2.65	**-0.62**	Legatum Institute

Deterioration in PPI score of Greece, 2005–2017
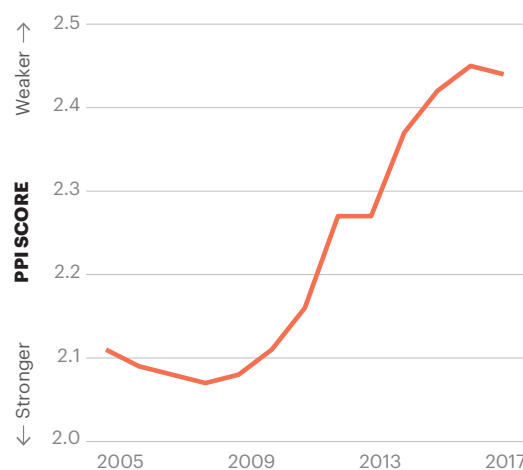
Source: IEP

Positive Peace in Greece deteriorated nearly 14 percent from 2005 to 2017, with most changes in the Pillars occurring after the 2008 global financial crisis.

Social mobility in Greece has deteriorated as a result of the 2010 debt crisis.[62] Since 2010, Greece has received approximately US$281.92 billion in support from the international community.[63] However, most of those funds have gone towards settling Greece's international debts rather than directly improving the country's domestic economy.[64] The Greek economy has shrunk by a quarter, and unemployment in the country is over 21 per cent following austerity measures.[65] Between 2009 and 2015, the net wealth of Greek households fell by 40 per cent, and the number of Greeks living in extreme poverty rose from 2.2 per cent to 15 per cent.[66] Average monthly salaries dropped 25 per cent despite the fact that Greeks work more hours annually than citizens of any other European country.[67] As a result of these factors, depression and suicides are on the rise, and more than 120,000 Greek professionals have left the country since 2010.[68]

Hostility to foreigners in Greece has risen in the wake of the ongoing refugee crisis. According to UNHCR estimates, there are more than 60,000 total asylum seekers and migrants in Greece.[69] Between January and August 2018 alone, over 16,000 refugees and migrants arrived in the country.[70] In March 2016, the European Union and Turkey implemented a deal designed to close the "Balkans migration route" and reduce the flow of migrants into Greece.[71] Later that year, the European Commission recommended that Greece adopt tougher refugee policies. Despite these policy changes, thousands of refugees still arrive on the Aegean islands annually. The influx of refugees has caused tension between migrants and Greek authorities, resulting in violence.[72]

Since 2009, Greece's debt crisis has created significant political divides in the country, leading to a deterioration in its *factionalised elites* score. The country has negotiated a series of bailout plans with the EU, leading to several changes of government during the past decade of recession.[73] Greek dependency on external funding, as well as increasingly harsh austerity laws have contributed to political destabilization and loss of trust in the political system.[74] Political participation has dropped from 70% in 2012 to 56.6% in 2015. According to the European Union's EuroBarometer survey, Greek Euroscepticism has increased since 2007, further evidencing political polarization.[75]

Greece has slightly improved its scores in *business environment*, *mobile phone subscription rate* and *perceptions of corruption*. Unemployment from the Greek fiscal crisis reached all-time highs of 28 per cent overall and 61.4 per cent for youth in 2014.[76] However, in 2014, Greece's GDP rose by 0.7 per cent, officially guiding it out of the recession and contributing to an improved *business environment* score.[77] *Perceptions of corruption* have improved modestly with the Greek government ratifying the United Nations Convention Against Corruption in 2008 as well as launching a National Anti-Corruption Action Plan which aims to quell domestic corruption.[78]

Yemen

CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
0.28	**-13**
to 4.31 from 4.03	to 161 from 148

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Yemen

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	3.4	5	**1.6**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Group grievance rating	3.667	4.689	1.02	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Well-Functioning Government	Government Effectiveness	3.833	4.651	0.82	World Bank
High Levels of Human Capital	Secondary school enrolment	3.582	3.214	-0.33	World Bank
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	5	4.536	-0.46	Legatum Institute
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.788	3.75	**-1.04**	ITU

Deterioration in PPI score of Yemen, 2005–2017
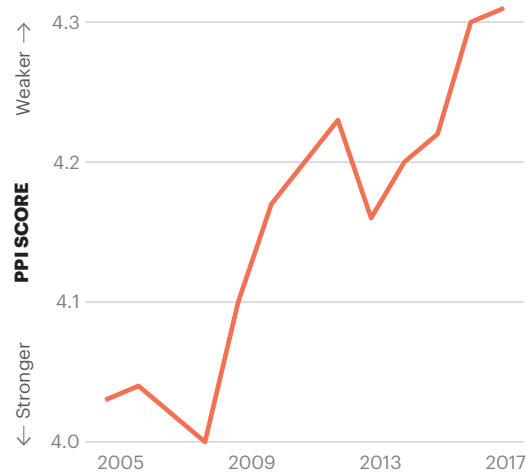
Source: IEP

Yemen's deterioration in Positive Peace is largely derived from the prolonged civil war. The country has been ravaged by an intense north-south divide that led to a civil war in 1994, an armed conflict between the government and Houthi rebels in 2009, massive protests during the 2011 Arab Spring and the outbreak of another all-out civil war in 2014. These conflicts are the result of decades of dispute between the Yemeni government and the northern tribes.[79]

The country remains in an extremely unstable political state. Yemeni President Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi is in exile; the Houthis have overtaken Sana'a, the country's capital, and established the Transitional Revolutionary Council.[80] In 2015, President Hadi established a temporary capital in Aden, which was later partially overtaken by pro-separatist forces. Hadi is currently in refuge in Riyadh.[81] According to Chatham House, the political vacuum in the country has given rise to a "chaos state" wherein many groups fight for and control territory.[82] The impact on the country's central government is reflected in a deteriorating *government effectiveness* score.

The United Nations, the United States and the Gulf Co-Operation Council view the Houthi leadership as illegitimate, and a Saudi-led military coalition has continuously launched air strikes on Houthi-controlled territory.[83] According to the Yemen Data Project, more than a third of airstrikes executed by this coalition have targeted non-military targets.[84] Houthi rebels have also responded to Saudi Arabia with counterattacks, firing missiles at Riyadh and Saudi oil tankers in the Red Sea.[85,86] Hundreds of foreign nationals living in the country have been forced to flee due to the civil war.[87] Internal and external conflict have increased Yemen's *hostility to foreigners*.

The UNHCR estimates that 22.2 million Yemenis, or 75 per cent of the population, are in need of humanitarian assistance.[88] Over two million Yemenis have been internally displaced, and 8.4 million are severely food insecure.[89] Roughly one million Yemenis have been infected by cholera in one of the world's worst epidemics.[90] Such developments are reflected by deteriorations in the *group grievance rating*.

Reporters without Borders indicates that at least 10 journalists are being held captive by the Houthis, and media in general is endangered by the militancy of the conflict. Journalists are subject to threats, abductions and the dangers of airstrikes. Media outlets are controlled by parties to the conflict, and citizen journalists in all parts of Yemen are subject to arrest for posting on social media.[91]

However, Yemen has experienced a significant increase in its *mobile phone subscription rate*, indicative of more efficient communication and information sharing systems. This in turn is especially important in a context such as Yemen where simple acts such as birth registration – necessary for the official recognition of individual identities – are woefully low. Only about 17 per cent of births in Yemen are registered.[92] According to the UNHCR, displaced persons view access to mobile phones as critical to their safety and security.[93]

Central African Republic

|	CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
	0.23	**-5**
	to 4.44 from 4.21	to 162 from 157

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Central African Republic

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	2.6	5	**2.4**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Social mobility	3.667	4.75	1.08	Institutional Profiles Database
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalized elites	4.111	4.867	0.76	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	4.972	4.701	-0.27	UNDP, Human Development Index
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	4.51	4.21	-0.3	Legatum Institute
Well-Functioning Government	Democratic political culture	4.833	4.5	**-0.33**	Economist Intelligence Unit

Deterioration in PPI score of Central African Republic, 2005–2017
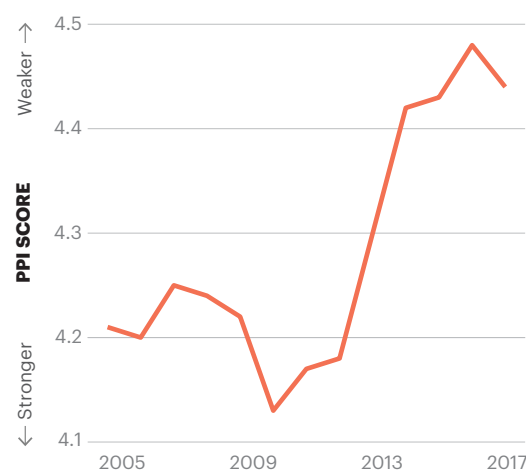
Source: IEP

Over the last 13 years, the Central African Republic has deteriorated five per cent in Positive Peace. Following 2011 elections that extended the presidency of General Francois Bozize, the country became embroiled in a violent civil conflict. Séléka, an alliance of Muslim rebel militia groups, was unhappy with the election results and claimed territory in the northern and central parts of the country. After peace talks in 2013, a new coalition government was formed between Bozize's government and Séléka. However, the coalition failed later that year, Séléka rebels seized the capital, and Bozize was forced into exile.[94]

These political feuds sparked ethnic tensions and contributed to the growth of Séléka-aligned Muslims and the anti-balaka Christian vigilante militias.[95] Though the country was able to hold peaceful presidential and parliamentary elections in 2016, as reflected in an improved *democratic political culture*, government authority is absent across much of the country.[96] As a result, armed groups operating in lawless areas of the country remain the primary source of violence.[97]

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, since the start of the lawlessness in 2013, more than 557,700 Central Africans have been displaced internally, another 573,400 have fled to neighbouring countries as refugees, and over half of the country's 4.6 million people are currently in need of humanitarian assistance or protection.[98] Unfortunately, poor security conditions hamper NGO relief efforts. In 2016, there were at least 336 attacks against humanitarian workers operating in the country.[99]

The Central African Republic's most deteriorated indicator is *hostility to foreigners*, which has been impacted by several developments in the country. The ongoing civil conflict is punctuated by violence between Christians and Muslims, with the former group labelling the latter foreigners.[100] Increased geographical divisions along ethnic and religious lines are reflected in a deterioration in the country's *factionalised elites* indicator.

While CAR's *business environment* has marginally improved, such progress is outweighed by larger deteriorations in *social mobility*. CAR is considered the world's most expensive country in which to start a business.[101] Additionally, the Heritage Foundation reports that less than one per cent of Central Africans have access to banking services, yet personal income tax in the country reaches up to 50 per cent.[102]

CAR's Positive Peace has also seen improvements in *inequality-adjusted life expectancy*. Despite this improvement, quality of life in CAR remains well below international averages. Politically, there is hope for the country's democratic future after the relatively successful transfer of power from the interim government to President Faustin-Archange Touadera in March 2016.

Equatorial Guinea

	CHANGE IN OVERALL SCORE, 2005-2017:	CHANGE IN RANK, 2005-2017:
	0.22	**-12**
	to 4.18 from 3.96	to 157 from 145

Largest changes in Positive Peace in Equatorial Guinea

Pillar	Indicator	Value in 2005	Value in 2017	Change	Source
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	1	3.8	**2.8**	Economist Intelligence Unit
Good Relations with Neighbours	Regional integration	3	4	1	Economist Intelligence Unit
Free Flow of Information	World Press Freedom Index	2.786	3.698	0.91	Reporters without Borders
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Group grievance rating	3.533	3.556	-0.18	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	4.573	4.169	-0.4	UNDP, Human Development Index
Free Flow of Information	Mobile phone subscription rate	4.751	4.016	**-0.74**	ITU

Deterioration in PPI score of Equatorial Guinea, 2005–2017
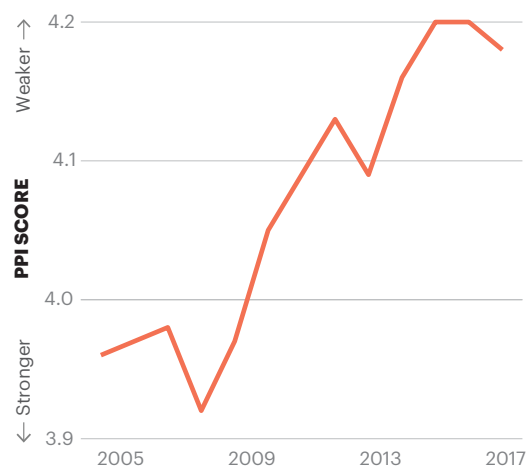
Source: IEP

Sub-Saharan Equatorial Guinea had a five per cent deterioration in Positive Peace from 2005 to 2017. The country has been ruled by President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo since a military coup overthrew the country's last president in 1979. President Obiang is the longest sitting president in the world, and in a largely uncontested election in 2016, he was re-elected for another seven-year term.[103] Obiang's 39-year presidency has been associated with corruption scandals, mishandling of national income from rich oil deposits and repression of media outlets and opposition groups.[104]

The large deterioration in *Good Relations with Neighbours* is due to tenuous relationships with the country's two neighbours, Gabon and Cameroon, as well as minimal participation in regional cooperative efforts such as the Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC). On a more positive note, in 2017, Equatorial Guinea signed the CEMAC Free Movement Act, waiving visa requirements for CEMAC countries' citizens.[105] Although Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon have organised eight different agreements in the past decade, tension remains over border control and immigration.[106] For example, in late 2017, the border between the two countries was temporarily closed due to fears of an alleged coup attempt against President Obiang.[107] The Equatorial Guinean government maintains a hard-line stance against illegal immigration.

Furthermore, Equatorial Guinea has clashed with neighbouring Gabon over possibly oil-rich territory in the Gulf of Guinea. UN began mediation of this issue in 2008, and in 2017, the two countries elected to submit the conflict to the International Court of Justice for arbitration.[108]

Some improvements in Equatorial Guinea's Positive Peace derive from the country's growing access to mobile phones, likely spurring increased access to the internet.[109] Another modest improvement in Positive Peace comes from the country's rising inequality-adjusted life expectancy. The improvement can be traced back to the 1995 discovery of large oil deposits. Equatorial Guinea is now one of sub-Saharan Africa's largest oil producers, being admitted to Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 2017.[110]

POSITIVE PEACE IN EUROPE: THE RISE OF POPULISM

Between 2005 and 2017, Europe's average Positive Peace score improved by a slight 0.84 per cent, well below the global average improvement of 2.4 per cent. Seventeen out of 36 European countries included in the index experienced deteriorations in their overall PPI scores. Over the last twelve years, the region recorded deteriorations in five of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace, compared to just one Pillar that deteriorated worldwide, as seen in Figure 1.9.

Unlike the rest of the world, Europe deteriorated in five of the eight Pillars of Peace since 2005. The only Pillar to deteriorate in Europe in line with global trends was *Low Levels of Corruption*. Since 2005, 24 out of 36 European countries saw worsening corruption scores, deteriorating on average by 4.5 per cent compared to the global average of 2.4 per cent. Restrictions on press freedoms in countries such as Greece and Hungary led a regional deterioration in *Free Flow of Information*. Europe has also seen a deterioration in *Well-Functioning Government*.

However, it is not just institutional Pillars that have seen deteriorations in Europe since 2005. Socially, the Pillars of *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* have also deteriorated by four and 2.4 per cent respectively in the region. Specifically, the level of explicit grievances between groups has worsened significantly while *social mobility* has contracted.

The increased social pressures that come with deteriorations in *Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*, coupled with a lack of faith in institutions caused by deteriorations in *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Well-Functioning Government* and *Free Flow of Information*, create a problematic

cycle. As social pressures increase, so do grievances in society. With diminishing trust in the establishment to redress such grievances, populations look for alternative solutions. This dynamic can be seen in shifting attitudes across the decade.

According to polling data from Eurobarometer, what people reported as the most important issue facing the EU changed significantly between 2010 and 2016. During the first four years of this period, the economic situation was most commonly reported as most important. However, by 2016 it had been unseated by immigration and terrorism.

The deteriorations in Europe in Positive Peace and the shifting focus onto immigration and terrorism has also been reflected in the politics of the region. In the past ten years, there has been a marked increase in populist parties throughout Europe. Populist parties are not homogenous, as they cover both the left-right spectrum and the moderate-hard line spectrum. However, there are two generally accepted and encompassing features of populism. The first is the promotion of an anti-establishment agenda aimed at questioning the policies of mainstream political parties and their ideologies. The second is an opposition to immigration or multiculturalism in general,

FIGURE 1.9

Positive Peace Pillars, Europe and the World, percentage score changes, 2005–2017

In Europe, five of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace deteriorated in score since 2005, while globally only one Pillar has deteriorated.
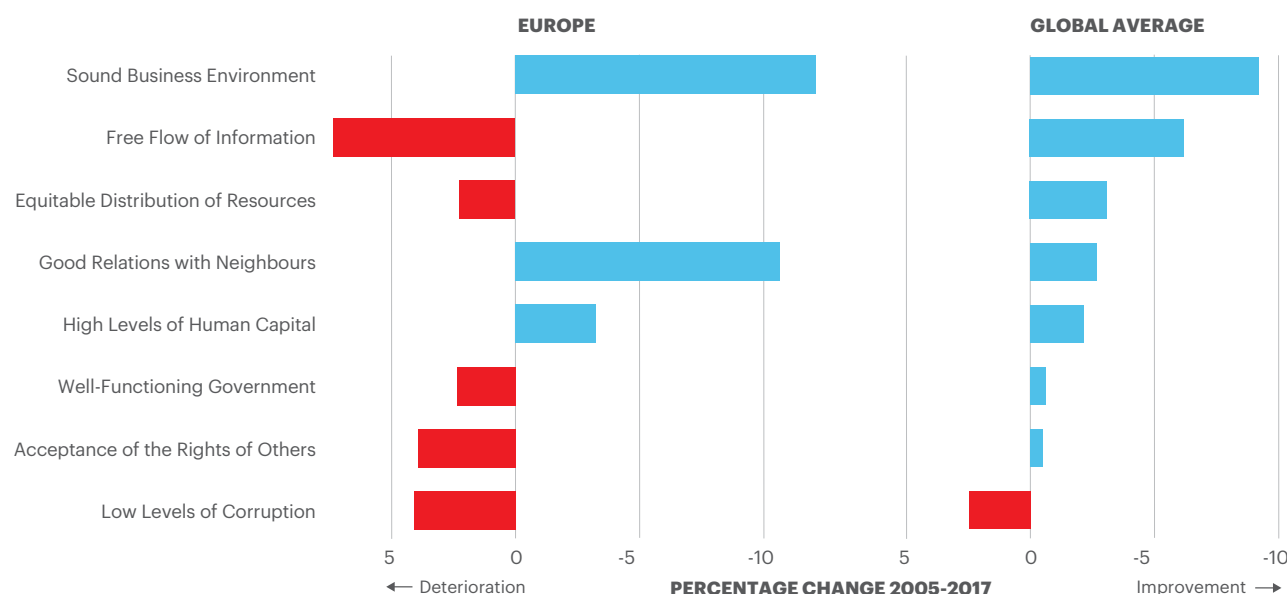
Source: IEP

FIGURE 1.10

Perception of the most important issues facing the EU, EU average, 2010-2016

The percentage of people reporting immigration as the most important issue more than tripled between 2010 and 2016.
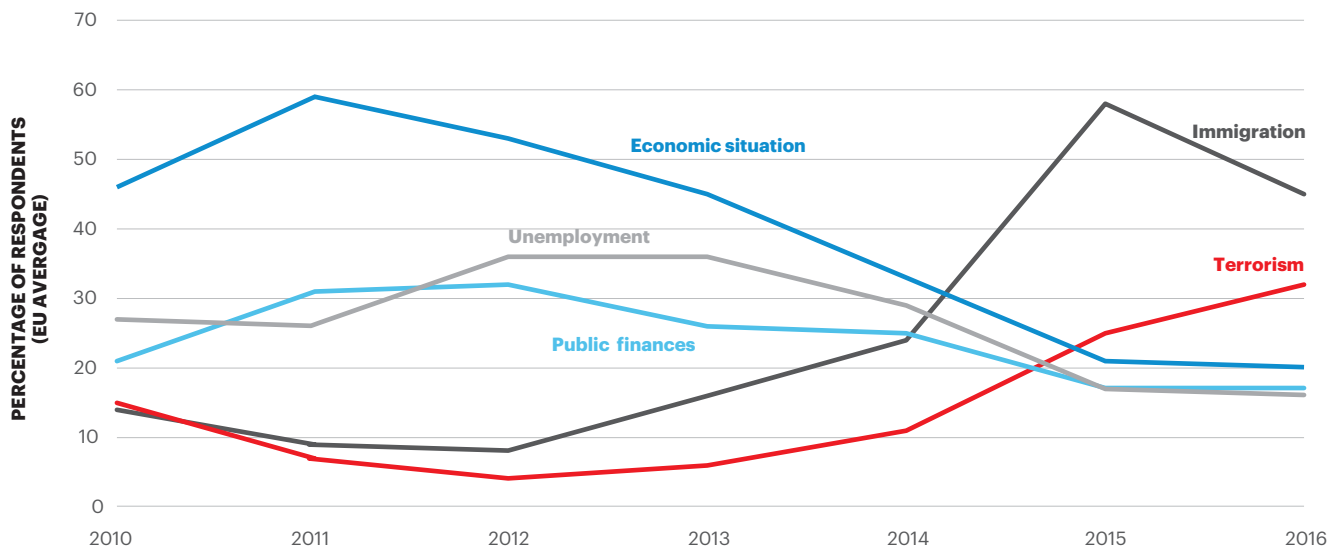
Source: Eurobarometer

complemented by nationalistic policies that place the emphasis on "national interest" and away from integration with regional blocs. For example:

- **Germany:** the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) party established in March 2013 was able to gain seats in four regional parliaments: Brandenburg, Thuringia, Saxony and Hamburg. AfD also made substantial gains in the recent national elections and is now the third largest party in the country.[111]
- **Finland:** the Eurosceptic Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset) became the second most powerful political force following the April 2015 elections, taking 38 out of 200 seats in the Parliament.
- **France:** Marine Le Pen of Front National came close to winning the French presidential election of 2017.
- **Austria:** the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) came close to winning the presidency, prompting a second round run-off. Although the election was fraught with irregularities that caused a re-vote, the FPÖ eventually conceded defeat, with nearly half of Austrians, or 46.2 per cent, voting for the party.
- **Netherlands:** the Party for Freedom (PVV) led the polls up until the March 2017 election. Although the incumbent People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) won, the PVV came in second with 13.1 per cent of the votes, gaining five seats in Parliament.
- **United Kingdom:** The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) won 24 seats in 2013 - eleven more than in the previous EP election, a victory that proved pivotal in its role in the successful Brexit campaign.
- **Sweden:** The nationalist, anti-immigration Sweden Democrats won 17.6 per cent of the vote in the September 2018 parliamentary election, up from 5.7 percent in 2010.[112] It should be noted, however, that a number of smaller

parties picked up votes, suggesting declining confidence in mainstream parties was more at play than populist sentiment itself.

It will be important for incoming governments to demonstrate their ability to deliver political changes that address the underlying conditions driving backlash against the system. Preventing immigration is relatively easy when compared to improving workers' conditions and take-home pay or reducing systemic corruption, especially in the public sector. However, improving Positive Peace requires long-term investment in difficult, systemic changes that will have a greater return to society in the long run.

2

Benefits of Positive Peace

Key Findings

→ Every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace corresponds with 2.9 per cent growth in real GDP per capita.

→ Countries that improved in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017 had two percentage points higher annual GDP growth on average than countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace.

→ Improvements in Positive Peace are linked to strengthening domestic currencies.

→ Countries that improved in Positive Peace had a median appreciation of 1.9 per cent in their exchange rate per annum, while countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace recorded a median depreciation of 0.2 per cent between 2005 and 2016.

→ High Positive Peace countries are more likely to maintain stability, adapt, and recover from shocks as they overcome their challenges.

→ Eighty-four per cent of major political shocks occurred in low Positive Peace countries.

→ Countries with high levels of Positive Peace have fewer civil resistance movements and those campaigns tend to be less violent, more limited in their goals, and more likely to achieve some of their aims.

→ Ninety-one per cent of all primarily violent resistance campaigns have been waged in countries with weaker Positive Peace.

→ Numbers of lives lost from natural disasters between 2005 and 2015 were 13 times larger in low Positive Peace countries than in high Positive Peace countries, a disproportionately high ratio when compared to the distribution of incidents

Positive Peace describes the level of a country's underlying capacity to support business, development and peace. A high level of Positive Peace indicates the presence of the attitudes, institutions and structures that are associated with many of the things that society consider important. Therefore, Positive Peace can be seen as describing an optimal environment for human potential to flourish. IEP has found that high levels of Positive Peace are associated with social and economic development in a systemic and mutually reinforcing way.

This finding challenges the conventional notion that development leads to peace, as well as the common counterargument that it is actually peace that leads to development. In reality, these distinct but overlapping aspects of the system are mutually reinforcing. Strengths and achievements reinforce one another, while challenges and weaknesses compound. As such, improving Positive Peace both reduces violence and enhances a number of other social processes. This chapter explores the impact of high levels of Positive Peace on development, the economy and resilience in the face of shocks.

POSITIVE PEACE & DEVELOPMENT

Positive Peace represents a holistic approach to developing peace. It not only reduces violence and the level of grievances, it also provides a framework for robust human development. Since it is a system, it is not possible to pull it apart to better understand it. The system is more than the sum of its parts.

Pursuing only human development, traditionally defined by health and education indicators, or economic development, traditionally defined by GDP, can actually hinder progress overall if not accompanied by other pertinent initiatives. A systems approach mitigates these risks by offering a holistic framework. Pursuing Positive Peace means simultaneously investing and improving across multiple dimensions to achieve sustainable peace and development.

To understand how Positive Peace is associated with development, the PPI was compared to many thousands of traditional development indicators. It was found that many developmental factors, as demonstrated in table 2.1, are closely correlated and empirically linked to Positive Peace.

Positive Peace creates the environment to achieve the priorities for United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), such as strong economic growth and employment, environmental sustainability, greater food security, gender equality, and development objectives such as improving access to water and energy resources. Positive Peace, as measured by the Positive Peace Index, correlates with many measures of socio-economic development.

Furthermore, table 2.2 maps the eight Positive Peace Pillars to the SDGs and to the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) established by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The mapping highlights the extent to which the 169 targets of the SDGs map to a systemic approach to building peace.

Some Pillars are over-emphasised while others have comparatively less prominence. Of particular importance is *Low Levels of Corruption* which is addressed directly by only one of the 169 targets. Similarly, *Free Flow of Information* is only covered by a small number of targets. This highlights the ongoing importance of Positive Peace in the post-2015 agenda.

"Positive Peace not only reduces violence and the level of grievances, it also provides a framework for robust human development."

TABLE 2.1

Correlation to common development goals

There are many strong correlations between the PPI and other global measurements of development.
This holds true also using subsets of the PPI.

Source	Index	Indicator	PPI Correlation	Subset Correlation
Economist Intelligence Unit	Global Food Security Index	Overall	-0.93	—
The Social Progress Imperative	Social Progress Index	Foundations of wellbeing	-0.83	-0.81
World Economic Forum	Global Competitiveness Report	Business sophistication	-0.79	-0.76
World Economic Forum	Global Competitiveness Report	Business impact of tuberculosis	-0.79	—
International Institute Of Social Sciences	Indices Of Social Development	Gender equality	-0.7	-0.69
Yale Center For Environmental Law And Policy	Environmental Performance Index	Overall	-0.7	—
Sustainable Development Solutions Network	World Happiness Reportx	Overall	-0.67	—
The Social Progress Imperative	Social Progress Index	Rural urban access to improved water source	-0.64	—
Millennium Development Goals	—	Proportion of the population using improved sanitation facilities, urban	-0.62	—

TABLE 2.2

Positive Peace, the Sustainable Development Goals and the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals

Positive Peace factors measured by IEP cover all of the proposed SDGs as well the PSGs.

Goals	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Free Flow of Information	Good Relations with Neighbours	High Levels of Human Capital	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government
Sustainable Development Goals								
1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere		✓						
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture		✓					✓	
3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	✓	✓			✓			✓
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all	✓	✓			✓			✓
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	✓				✓			✓
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all		✓			✓			✓
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all					✓	✓		
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation					✓		✓	✓
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	✓	✓			✓			✓
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns					✓			✓
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts		✓		✓	✓			✓
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development		✓						✓
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss		✓		✓				✓
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Dustainable Development	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓
Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals								
Economic foundations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Justice	✓				✓	✓		✓
Legitimate politics	✓		✓			✓		✓
Revenues and services	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Security	✓			✓				✓

BOX 2.1

Positive Peace – The Way to Achieve the UN's Sustaining Peace Agenda

In April 2016, the UN Security Council and General Assembly introduced the concept of "Sustaining Peace," representing a fundamental shift in the way the UN approaches peace and conflict. Underpinning the change is a new focus on preventing conflicts via the identification of the factors that foster peace.

This new agenda requires a change in mindset of stakeholders from reaction to anticipation and prevention. Ideally, it should provide a framework with short- and long-term strategies for building resilient societies. But there are few practical guidelines, tools or measurements currently in place for conceptualising, tracking and supporting the key drivers of peace.

IEP's Positive Peace framework provides a lens through which to track and identify the multiple factors that underpin this agenda.

- The Positive Peace framework has been mainly derived empirically through a technically rigorous and well-documented methodology.

- Positive Peace shifts thinking from what makes countries violent to what makes them peaceful and resilient.

- One of Positive Peace's advantages is its capacity to measure a country's resilience, or ability to absorb and recover from shocks. Resilience is commonly referred to by peacebuilders and within the UN system, but there is little guidance on how to measure it.

- Countries with high Positive Peace are more likely to maintain their stability and adapt and recover from both internal and external shocks, thereby reducing the risks of conflict relapse.

- IEP's analysis demonstrates that resilience is built by building high levels of Positive Peace. It is also an effective way to reduce the potential for future violence.

- Well-developed Positive Peace represents the capacity for a society to thrive. Societies with high Positive Peace have better outcomes on a range of important factors such as higher per capita GDP growth, better environmental performance, less civil resistance movements and less violent political shocks.

POSITIVE PEACE & THE ECONOMY

Key Findings

→ Positive Peace provides the framework for robust economic development.

→ For every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace there is a corresponding 2.9 per cent growth in real GDP per capita.

→ Improvements in the PPI Overall Score are a stronger indicator of higher economic performance than improvements in any one individual Pillar.

→ Countries that improved in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017 had two percentage points higher annual GDP growth on average than countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace.

→ Improvements in Positive Peace are linked to strengthening domestic currencies.

→ Countries that improved in Positive Peace had a median 1.9 per cent appreciation in their exchange rate, while countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace recorded a median depreciation of 0.2 per cent between 2005 and 2016.

→ Non-OECD countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace from 2010 to 2016 had a fall in their credit rating of 4.5 points on average on a scale of 0 to 22.

High levels of Positive Peace not only prevent and reduce violence, but also create the enabling conditions for economic prosperity. This section explores how Positive Peace enhances overall economic growth, strengthens the domestic currency and improves a country's international credit rating.

GDP growth

Positive Peace is strongly correlated with per capita GDP, as shown in figure 2.1. The higher the levels of Positive Peace in a country, the better economic outcomes this country will tend to experience. Developments in a country's social attitudes and institutions tend to influence the decisions made by individual economic agents – consumers, workers, business owners, financiers – in a way that impacts macroeconomic indicators. Figure 2.1 illustrates that for every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace there corresponds a 2.9 per cent growth in real GDP per capita. Further, figure 2.2 shows that countries that improved in Positive Peace between 2005 and 2017 had on average two percentage points higher per capita GDP growth than those in which peace deteriorated. These results remain robust to changes in the time period and set of countries analysed.

Naturally, a certain degree of path dependence applies. Countries that have experienced strong economic growth in past decades and centuries have created socio-economic conditions that fostered education, participative political processes,

FIGURE 2.1

Positive Peace vs log GDP per capita (2011 PPP dollars), 2005-2016

Every one per cent improvement in Positive Peace is associated with 2.9 per cent growth in real GDP per capita.
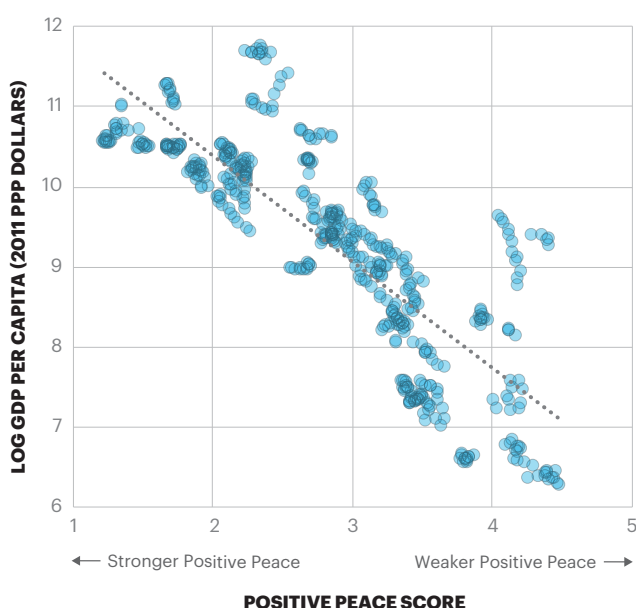
Source: World Bank, IEP

FIGURE 2.2

Positive Peace and growth in GDP per capita, 2005-2017

Countries that improved in Positive Peace since 2005 have experienced larger GDP per capita growth than countries that have deteriorated.

Source: World Bank, IEP

FIGURE 2.3
Median annual growth in GDP per capita, 2005-2017

Improvements in the PPI Overall Score are a stronger indicator of higher economic performance than improvements in any one individual Pillar.

Source: World Bank, IEP

favourable business conditions, improvements in workers' conditions and social minorities, strong institutions and respect for the basic rights.

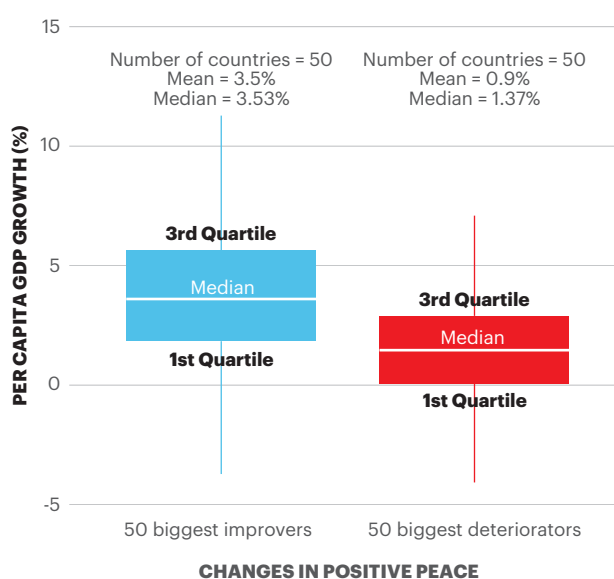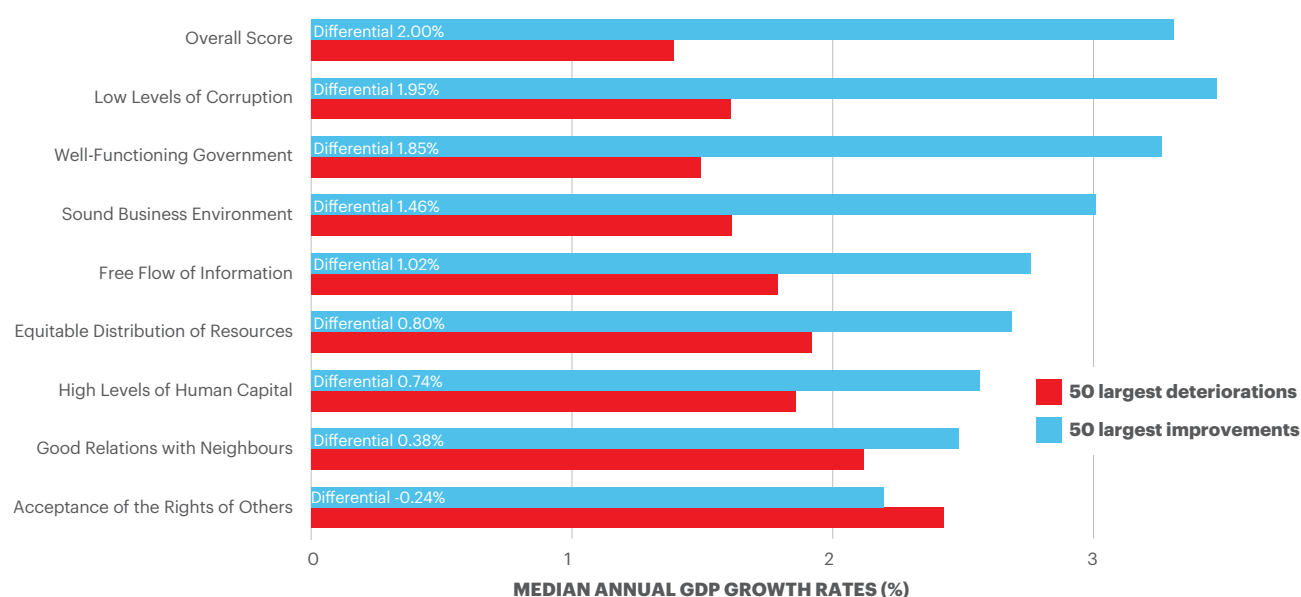While historical data is useful to demonstrate the link between Positive Peace and GDP growth, future growth expectations are also related to changes in Positive Peace. Based on International Monetary Fund (IMF) projections, 27 of the 34 countries where expected annual growth in real GDP for 2018 is higher than five per cent have shown improvements in Positive Peace in the past decade. Further, 16 of these countries are low-peace countries, meaning that they rank in the bottom third of the GPI. Less peaceful countries tend to have underdeveloped internal markets and thus have a high potential for economic expansion. Growth forecasts for these countries are, on average, one percentage point higher than the more advanced peaceful economies. In the context of economic slowdowns in emerging markets like Brazil, Russia and China, developing countries with the highest improvements in Positive Peace are potential attractors of investors seeking higher returns.

Improvements in Positive Peace lead to higher GDP growth rates. However, GDP per capita is an indicator used in the PPI's *Sound Business Environment* Pillar. To remove any bias caused by this, it is useful to explore the link between higher economic growth rates and improvements in the other Pillars. Figure 2.3 shows the difference in median annual GDP growth rates for countries that improved compared to those that deteriorated in each of the eight Pillars of Peace. It shows that the countries that improved in any one Pillar outperformed the economic growth of those that deteriorated, with the exception of *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*. The largest difference between improving and deteriorating countries occurred with the PPI Overall Score.

The 50 countries that improved in *Low Levels of Corruption* had a 1.95 percentage point higher GDP per capita growth than those where corruption became worse. Similarly, countries that improved in *Well-Functioning Government*, *Sound Business Environment* and *Free Flow of Information* also had GDP per capita growth rates one to 1.8 per cent higher than countries that deteriorated in these Pillars.

Countries that improved in their PPI Overall Score grew their economies by an additional two percentage points, on average, compared to countries that deteriorated. This reflects that improvements in multiple Pillars can reinforce each other. In other words, the systemic effects are greater than any individual parts. Improvements in the PPI Overall Score offer greater potential for identifying countries that have a higher GDP per capita growth than countries that have the largest improvement in any one Pillar.

This highlights the systemic nature of Positive Peace and the benefits of focussing on all the Pillars of Peace rather than its individual components.

"Countries that improved in their PPI Overall Score grew their economies by an additional two percentage points, on average, compared to countries that deteriorated."

TABLE 2.3
Positive Peace Pillars and the economic system

All eight Pillars of Positive Peace play a significant role in facilitating and strengthening specific aspects of a *Sound Business Environment*.

Positive Peace Pillar	Effect on the economy as the pillar improves	World development indicator metric	Correlation coefficient with the PP pillar
Free Flow of Information	Greater information	Borrowers from commercial banks (per 1,000 adults)	-0.44
	Increased start-ups	New business density (new registrations per 1,000 people ages 15-64)	-0.49
	Lower tariffs	Tariff rate, applied, weighted mean, all products (%)	0.48
	Cost savings	Logistics Performance Index: Ease of arranging competitively priced shipments	-0.53
Well-Functioning Government	Improved contract enforcement	Property rights and rule based governance	-0.78
Low Levels of Corruption	Lower tariffs	Tariff rate, applied, weighted mean, all products (%)	0.57
	Bureaucratic transparency	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector rating	-0.79
	Better resource allocation	International Development Association (IDA) resource allocation index	-0.69
High Levels of Human Capital	Higher Productivity	GDP per person employed (constant 2011 PPP)	-0.75
	Reduced talent search costs		
	Knowledge-based economy	Research and development expenditure (% of GDP)	-0.71
Sound Business Environment	Ease of navigating regulatory requirements of the government	CPIA business regulatory environment rating	-0.78
		Logistics Performance Index: Efficiency of customs clearance process	-0.85
	Ease of access to finance	Firms using banks to finance working capital (% of firms)	-0.42
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Improved respect for private property rights and reduced property-related crime	Losses due to theft and vandalism (% of annual sales for affected firms)	0.44
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Increased productive engagement of young women	% of female youth not in education, employment or training, female	0.47
Good Relations with Neighbours	Better performance in international related regulations	Volume of trades as share of GDP	-0.39
		Lower tarrifs	0.55
		CPIA trade rating	-0.43

Source: IEP, World Bank World Development Indicators

"**Improvements in Positive Peace contribute to the efficient functioning of the economy. As Positive Peace improves, economic activity becomes easier to undertake.**"

> **"Inequality resulting from a biased and unjust allotment of resources creates social tensions and hinders many capable people from achieving their potential."**

Improvements in Positive Peace contribute to the efficient functioning of the economy by reducing frictions and rigidities in the economic system. As Positive Peace improves, undertaking economic activities becomes easier due to fewer administrative bottlenecks and lower transaction costs.

Table 2.3 shows the correlations of the Pillars of Positive Peace to macro-economic indicators relating to the efficiency of the economy. This highlights that, while IEP's Positive Peace framework includes economic indicators in the *Sound Business Environment*, the remaining seven Pillars also correlate with many aspects of a well-functioning economy.

Positive Peace supports business environments through many channels. Improvements in *Free Flow of Information* can help reduce informational bottlenecks or "black spots" regarding the differences in the prices of products and inputs in different markets. This helps businesses to improve their profitability and encourages new entrants into the market. Similarly, effective third-party arbitration of contracts can significantly improve the business environment and comes under *Well-Functioning Government.*

The *Free Flow of Information* Pillar is also correlated with borrowings from banking institutions. Impediments or barriers to information may lead to insufficient trust in the banking system, thereby leading to less people seeking loans. Conversely, in an economy where information is limited, banks may reduce credit due to the difficulty of forecasting loan delinquency and default rates.

Corruption inhibits transparency, increases transaction costs and lowers business efficiency. All these are hurdles to domestic and foreign investment. Often foreigners seeking to invest in emerging countries face the challenge of dealing with officials demanding bribes. Reductions in effective tariff rates are associated with *Low Levels of Corruption*, implying that in a corrupt environment domestic businesses are more likely to protect markets through graft. This hurts the long-term interests of the economy, as purchases are not being allocated to the most competitive industries.

A healthy and educated working population, as captured by the *High Levels of Human Capital* Pillar, is a key factor in promoting economic growth. A greater stock of a highly capable workforce supports a more sophisticated economy. Additionally, *High Levels of Human Capital* also contribute to growing the knowledge-based economy, which is considered the most effective source of sustainable economic growth.

Sound Business Environment is another key Pillar displaying a strong relationship with indicators of economic development. A challenging or underdeveloped business environment in a country is associated with a deficient regulatory environment, as rated by the World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), as well as inefficient customs processes. A difficult business environment is also linked to low access to bank financing for working capital, presumably as banks assess business lending as overly risky.

The *Equitable Distribution of Resources* Pillar measures the level to which all sectors of society have access to the resources available in a country. This should be viewed more as equality of opportunity than equalisation of outcomes. Inequality resulting from a biased and unjust allotment of resources creates social tensions and hinders many capable people from achieving their potential. The 2017 World Development Report has shown how inequality is correlated to higher levels of crime, particularly property related.[1]

Acceptance of the Rights of Others encapsulates a society's willingness to accept and include diverse groups, such as religious and ethnic minorities and other social groups in politics and the economy. This Pillar is also associated with high levels of female education and workforce participation.

Exchange rates

Improvements in a country's Positive Peace are associated with appreciations in its currency, as measured by the real effective exchange rate (REER).[2] Improvements in Positive Peace are associated with a median appreciation of the domestic currency by 1.9 per cent per annum. Conversely, deteriorations in Positive

FIGURE 2.4

Year–on–year change in real effective exchange rates by Positive Peace group, non–OECD countries, 2005–2016

Countries that improved in Positive Peace experienced higher rates of appreciation in the real value of their currency.
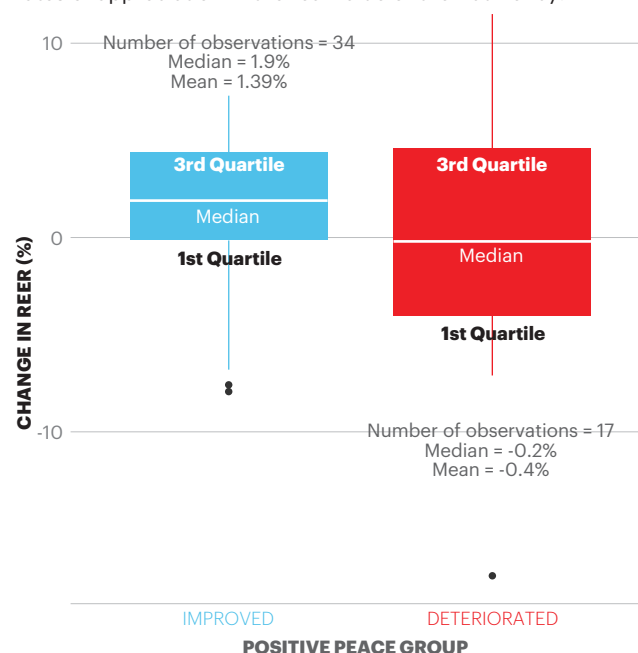
Source: WDI, IEP calculations

Peace are associated with a median depreciation in domestic currency of 0.2 per cent.

Figure 2.4 illustrates that 75 per cent of countries that improved in Positive Peace also appreciated in REER. For the countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace, 50 per cent depreciated in REER. These results were obtained after excluding observations where year-on-year appreciation or depreciation exceeded 50 per cent, which happened in two countries: Venezuela and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

There are a number of possible reasons for this relationship. As Positive Peace improves, a country becomes more attractive to foreign investors. This leads to an inflow of capital that exerts upward pressure on the currency. In addition, more benign economic conditions domestically may foster the growth of export industries, including tourism, further increasing capital inflows. As a country's institutions improve, especially *Well-Functioning Government* and *Low Levels of Corruption*, economic and financial investment becomes more attractive due to greater trust in the mechanisms for contract disputes and the efficiency of dealing with government departments.

Credit rating

Sovereign credit ratings are intended to capture the ability of a country to mobilise fiscal resources and meet its financial commitments. Countries that improve in Positive Peace are more likely to either improve or maintain their credit rating. Sovereign credit ratings by Standard & Poor's reflect analysis of institutional and governance effectiveness, economic structure and growth prospects, external finances, and fiscal and monetary flexibility. These ratings classify countries in 23 levels of performance in terms of the capacity and willingness of a country to meet its financial commitments.

For the purpose of this analysis, IEP assigned numeric scores to Standard & Poor's alphabetic rating labels, from zero for the lowest score of 'D' to 22 for the best rating 'AAA.' Changes in credit rating scores for each country were examined between 2010 and 2017 and compared to the country's improvement or deterioration in Positive Peace between 2010 and 2016.

Out of the 80 countries for which credit rating scores were available, 23 improved on Positive Peace and 21 deteriorated, while 36 maintained their ratings throughout the period. Of the 23 countries that improved in Positive Peace from 2010 to 2016, ten countries, or 43 per cent, improved in credit rating. A further nine countries preserved their original rating, and only four were downgraded.

For the 21 countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace, 14 countries, or 67 per cent, were downgraded, five maintained their original ratings and two were upgraded.

These results show that improvements in credit ratings are more prevalent in countries that improve in Positive Peace and downgrades are more prevalent in countries that deteriorate in Positive Peace.

FIGURE 2.5

Change in credit rating score by Positive Peace group, 2010–2016

Countries that deteriorated in Positive Peace also experienced a fall in their credit rating.
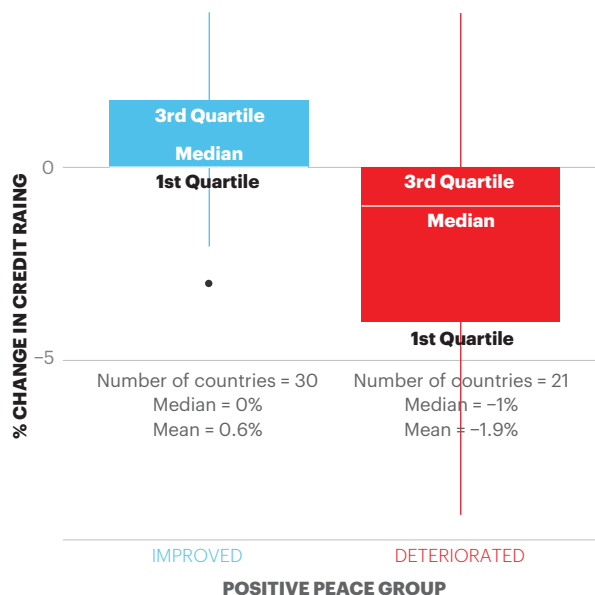
Source: S&P Global Ratings, IEP calculations

"Improvements in credit ratings are more prevalent in countries that improve in Positive Peace and downgrades are more prevalent in countries that deteriorate in Positive Peace."

POSITIVE PEACE & RESILIENCE

Positive Peace provides a framework for assessing a country's potential to promote and maintain peace. It is also a proxy for a country's ability to plan for and respond to shocks. A key reason for this is the mutually reinforcing nature of the societal structures underpinning the Positive Peace Pillars. For instance, when a country has strong formal institutions, such as a well-functioning legal system, in combination with strong informal institutions, such as cohesive communities, it will tend to respond or adapt to specific shocks more effectively.

This section of the report explains the key concepts associated with resilience and adaptability through exploring the interaction between changes in the Global Peace Index (GPI) score and Positive Peace. High Positive Peace countries can be shown to be more stable than other countries in a number of different ways.

Figure 2.6 shows change in internal peace from 2008 to 2016 for three equal groups of countries based on PPI scores. This shows that countries with high levels of Positive Peace are by far the most stable, with only 11 per cent experiencing a deterioration of greater than 0.1 in the GPI Internal Peace score compared to 28 per cent for the group with low levels of peace.

Stability in response to shocks

The term 'shock' is used to describe a sudden change in some aspect of a system. In terms of a nation, shocks are sudden onset events that have the potential to "cause fatalities, injuries, property damage, infrastructure damage, and agricultural loss, damage to the environment, interruption of business, or other types of harm or loss."[3] Shocks can be catastrophic events that directly cause loss of life and/or events that trigger the outbreak of violence. Some shocks can be positive events, such as peace negotiations, the introduction of a new technology or the discovery of a new mineral resource deposit.

The nation as a system has a number of feedback loops that allow countries to respond in the aftermath of shocks. The strength of the feedback loops determines resilience. Shocks affect many aspects of an otherwise stable society and their flow-on effects can be long term and unpredictable. Shocks can, therefore, create tense situations that can lead to violence.

The 2010 earthquake in Port-au-Prince, Haiti is an example of a shock that triggered violence. During the earthquake, the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince was severely damaged, allowing over 5,000 prisoners to escape.[4] At the same time, police officers were immediately engaged in disaster response, reducing their capacity to respond to crime and violence, and police resources were also damaged in the earthquake.[5] Chaotic conditions facilitated the regrouping of formerly dispersed or imprisoned gang members and, combined with general post-disaster lawlessness, the city saw an escalation of turf wars and a rise in homicide, assault and rape.[6] The intersection of a severe shock and existing vulnerabilities in the system, such as weak infrastructure and an under-resourced police force, led to a deterioration in peacefulness.

However, not all shocks trigger violence. Countries with high levels of Positive Peace have the *attitudes, institutions and structures* that are associated with the absence of violence.

FIGURE 2.6

Positive Peace and changes in GPI, 2008-2016

High Positive Peace enables countries to maintain high levels of peacefulness.
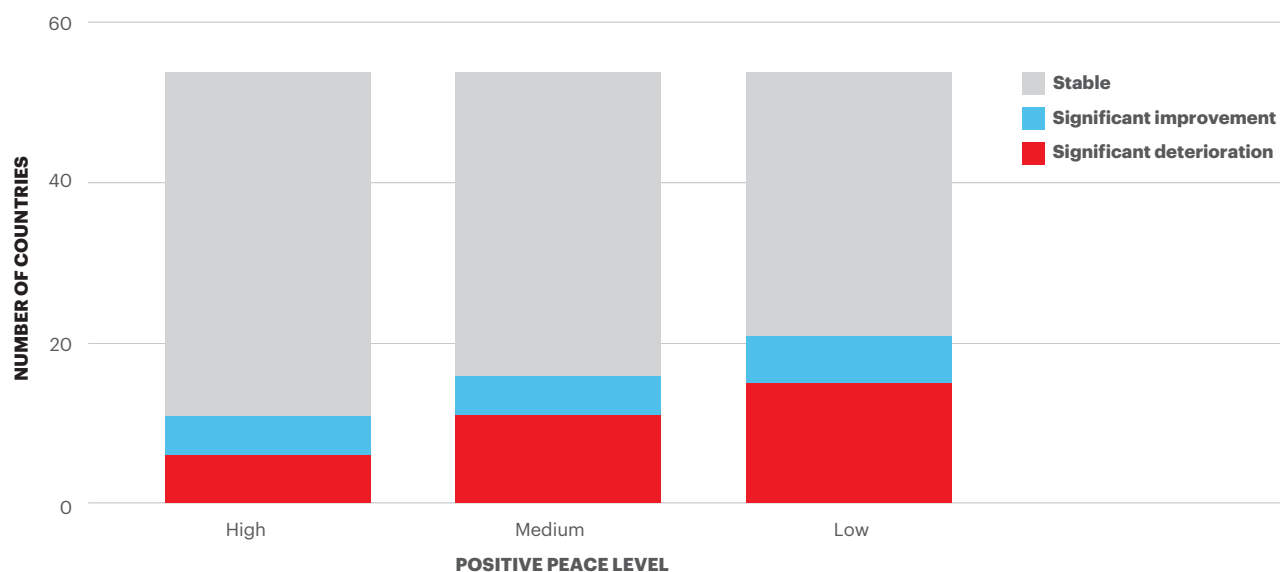
Source: IEP

These can be understood as drivers of nonviolent change. The social characteristics that make up Positive Peace give people access to methods of resolving conflicts and addressing change without falling into violence.

Shocks are commonly categorised as being either exogenous or endogenous. Exogenous shocks originate from outside the national system while endogenous shocks result from internal mechanisms.

EXOGENOUS SHOCKS

Natural disasters are the most prevalent type of exogenous shock. Between 2005 and 2015, there were over 2,400 natural disasters in 196 countries affecting more than 1.8 billion people.[7] They occur all over the world, and their frequency and intensity are outside the control of policy makers. Importantly, as the effect of climate change accelerates, so too may the frequency and impact of natural disasters.

Figure 2.8 shows that natural disasters kill 13 times more people in low Positive Peace countries despite the frequency of events being approximately equal. Societies' *attitudes, institutions and structures*, such as social cohesion, economic conditions and the quality of infrastructure also impact the outcome of natural shocks, especially in terms of lives lost.[8]

To explore the link between Positive Peace and the varying impacts of natural disasters, it is necessary to account for the distributions of frequency, severity and population density across different levels of Positive Peace. While there will undoubtedly be other factors that determine the impact of a natural disaster in a country, for brevity this report will look at these three major areas.

Emergency Events Database

IEP used data from the Emergency Events Database (EM-DAT) to explore the relationship between resilience and Positive Peace. EM-DAT captures basic data on the occurrence and effects of natural and technological disasters for the years 1900 to 2015. Events are included in the database if they meet one of the following criteria:

- 10 or more people reported killed
- 100 or more people reported affected
- declaration of a state of emergency
- call for international assistance.

Information on events is collated from a variety of sources, with preference given to data from UN agencies and country governments.[9]

Figure 2.7 shows the frequency of natural disasters by level of Positive Peace, showing that these types of shocks occur roughly as often across the different groups of countries.

Figure 2.8 shows that countries at lower levels of Positive Peace experience far more fatalities as a result of natural disasters, despite a similar number of events. Countries with weak Positive Peace have a fatality ratio of 13:1 compared to high Positive Peace environments, while the frequency of natural disasters is much closer at 6:5.

Frequency of natural disasters, 2005-2015

Natural disasters are only slightly more frequent in low Positive Peace countries, yet they have a fatality ratio of 13:1 compared to high Positive Peace environments.

Source: EMDAT, IEP

Total number of deaths from natural disasters, 2005-2015

More people are killed by natural disasters in low Positive Peace countries than high Positive Peace countries.
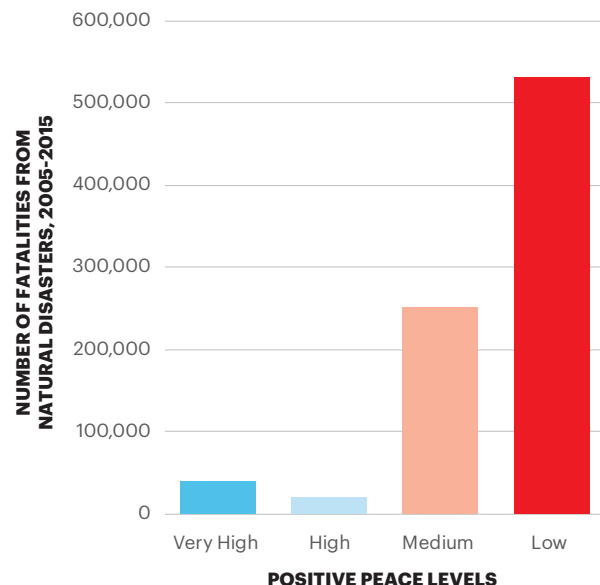
Source: EMDAT, IEP

FIGURE 2.9

Distribution of Endogenous Shocks, 2005-2015

Lower Positive Peace countries experience more industrial and political shocks while higher Positive Peace countries suffer more economic shocks.

Total incidents (%)	Very High	High	Medium	Low
Genocide Onset (2005–2014)	0	0	1	2
Violent Conflict Onset (2005–2014)	0	2	6	4
Political Shock Onset (2005–2014)	2	18	38	70
Economic Shock Onset (2005–2010)	61	20	17	5
Infrastructure Accident (2005–2015)	164	253	349	358

POSITIVE PEACE

Source: EMDAT, INSCR, Reinhart and Rogoff, UCDP, IEP

FIGURE 2.10

Resilience building in a Positive Peace system

Positive Peace can be used to not only build resilience directly but also to shift the shocks a country is exposed to from violent to nonviolent.

→ Resilience building   → Resilience reducing

ENDOGENOUS SHOCKS

Endogenous shocks are sudden onset events that arise from conditions inside society. Particular conditions may change rapidly or build up over time and result in unexpected events that have the potential to spark violence. Civil unrest is a good example, when nations quickly turn violent because of a sudden, destabilising event. Economic shocks are similar. Economic conditions can be misaligned for a long time before resulting in a sudden crash or crisis that has the potential to spark riots or other types of violence.

Despite being engendered by the system, endogenous shocks are still difficult to predict. But the data shows that more internal shocks take place in low Positive Peace countries and different types of shocks occur in low versus high Positive Peace settings. This suggests that it is possible to reduce the impact of shocks by proactively building resilience and Positive Peace. Additionally, countries with high levels of Positive Peace are less likely to deteriorate in GPI score post-shock. The onset of different types of shocks is shown in figure 2.9.

Violent shocks such as regime changes, coups d'état and revolutions are prevalent in countries with lower Positive Peace, with 84 per cent occurring in medium to low Positive Peace countries. Genocide, being a jus cogens principle of international law, is the largest endogenous systemic breakdown. The data used in this analysis registers genocide events in three cou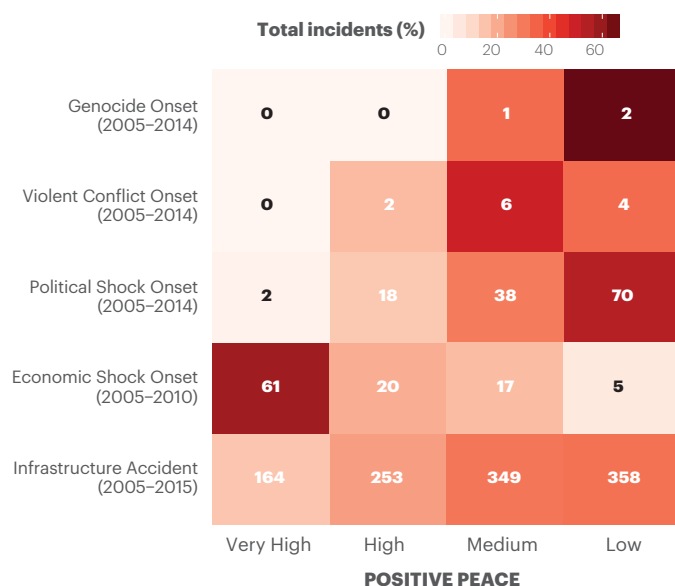ntries between 2005 and 2016. Offensives by the state during the Sri Lankan civil war in 2008 have been classified as genocide against the Tamils. In the Central African Republic, following the forcible displacement of the President Bozizé regime on 24 March 2013, the government engaged in predatory actions against the population.[10] The Sunni extremists
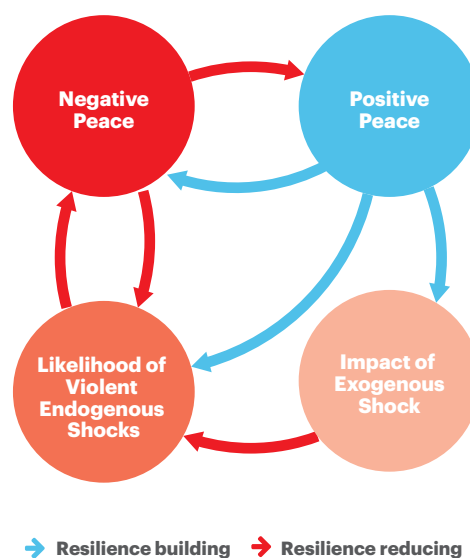
Endogenous Shocks Data

IEP has sourced the following data for creating a database of endogenous shocks:

- **Infrastructure accidents** are from EM-DAT and include transport, industrial and technological disasters.

- **Economic shocks and crises** are from Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) and include incidence of crises in banking, currency, inflation crises, sovereign debt, and stock markets.

- **Political shocks** are from Polity IV and include regime changes, coups d'état and revolutions.

- **Violent conflict** is from the UCDP battle deaths dataset.

organized under the banner of the Islamic State in Iraq since 2014 have targeted Yazidis and Christians in their controlled territories. It is estimated that these operations have killed around 5,000 people.[11]

Economic shocks are most prevalent in very high Positive Peace countries. Although this may seem counter-intuitive, the risk of financial shocks increases as financial institutions proliferate and become more integral to a country's economy. High Positive Peace countries tend to have more sophisticated economies.

These observations highlight two important aspects of resilience. The first is that building resilience does not have to be direct. Using systems thinking, it is easy to see how improvements in one area can strengthen resilience in another. Secondly, by building Positive Peace a country can shift the types of shocks it is vulnerable to from violent ones, such as revolutions and regime changes, to non-violent ones, such as infrastructural and economic. These dynamics are shown in figure 2.10. By reducing the risk of internal threats, a country will be able to maintain stability more easily.

Civil resistance campaigns

Episodes of social unrest are more frequent than other types of political shocks and their characteristics vary distinctly according to the level of Positive Peace in the country where they occur. One way in which Positive Peace helps to build resilience is by creating an environment conducive to nonviolent alternatives for conflict resolution. This sub-section explores the link between Positive Peace and whether civil resistance movements are violent or nonviolent in attempting to address their grievances.

Countries with higher Positive Peace have historically had fewer civil resistance movements, whether violent or nonviolent. These results are visualised in figure 2.11.

IEP used the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) Data Project for the analysis, a multi-level data collection effort that catalogues major violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns around the world between 1947 and 2006. NAVCO was compared to Positive Peace to determine the breakdown of conflicts by their Positive Peace profile. The database only includes movements of more than 1,000 participants. It should be noted that the majority of these resistance movements have been violent.[12]

Positive Peace translates into more opportunities for nonviolent conflict resolution.

Prevalence & nature of resistance campaigns

Between 1945 and 2006, 91 per cent of violent resistance campaigns have occurred in countries with weaker Positive Peace. The proportion of resistance movements that are nonviolent is higher in countries with stronger Positive Peace.
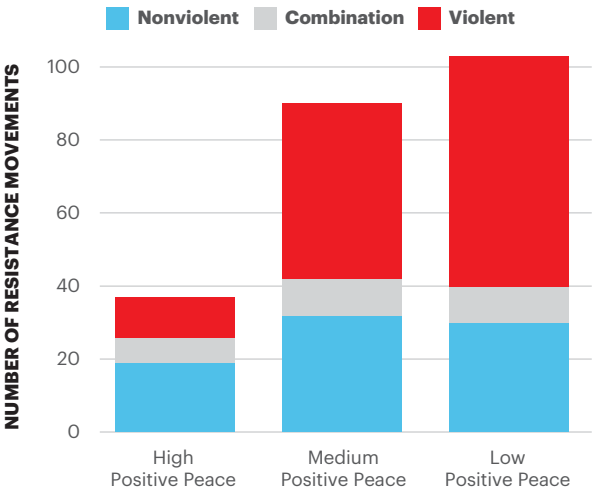
Source: University of Denver, IEP

"Countries with higher Positive Peace have historically had fewer civil resistance movements, whether violent or nonviolent."

TABLE 2.4
Characteristics of resistance campaigns by levels of Positive Peace

Violent civil resistance movements in countries with strong Positive Peace only occur in extreme circumstances.

	Weaker Positive Peace	Stronger Positive Peace
Goal of the campaign	Goals are typically major structural or regime change.	Goals are typically aimed at policy or in some circumstances territorial independence.
Size	Weaker Positive Peace countries tend to have larger violent campaigns but smaller nonviolent campaigns.	Stronger Positive Peace countries tend to have smaller violent but larger nonviolent campaigns.
Propensity for violence	Campaigns tend to use violence more.	Campaigns have more of a tendency to use nonviolence.
Progress	On average, violent and nonviolent campaigns can achieve some gains but fall short of major concessions without regime change.	Violent campaigns are less successful. Nonviolent campaigns tend to achieve more concessions.
State response	Repression occurs. In nonviolent cases, state repression aims to demobilise the movement.	Repression of nonviolent campaigns tends to be condemned.
International response	State repression of nonviolent campaigns is more likely to result in international condemnation and sanctions.	There is generally stronger overt international support for the state. Diasporas living overseas tend to be more supportive of the campaign.

3

Positive Peace & changes in the Global Peace Index

Key Findings

→ Changes in Positive Peace precede both improvements and deteriorations in the GPI.

→ Eighty-five per cent of countries that had large reductions in violence improved on ten or more Positive Peace indicators beforehand.

→ Seventy per cent of the largest deteriorations in the GPI were preceded by deteriorations in nine or fewer Positive Peace indicators.

→ *Well-Functioning Government*, *Low Levels of Corruption*, *Acceptance of the Rights of Others* and *Good Relations with Neighbours* are the most important Pillars needing improvement in countries suffering from high levels of violence.

→ In certain circumstances, improving *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* without improvements in the other Pillars can create the dynamics that cause peace to deteriorate.

→ Countries that transitioned to higher levels of peace had lower access to small arms, better economic environments and higher levels of Positive Peace.

→ Countries that deteriorated in peace tended to have higher levels of access to small arms, higher numbers of police and higher group grievances than countries of similar levels of peace.

→ *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environment* become more important as countries move away from very low levels of peace.

→ *Low Levels of Corruption* is the only Pillar that is strongly statistically significant across all levels of peacefulness.

→ As countries improve in peacefulness, all of the eight Pillars show stronger statistical relationships with peacefulness, highlighting the need to focus on all Pillars.

This section of the report analyses the Positive Peace factors associated with transitions in peace. The research highlights the most important factors which vary depending on the current state of peace and the country's level of development. Systems thinking has been applied to provide a framework with which to understand how Positive Peace operates and how to better apply it to develop policy.

A central question behind understanding national systems is what makes nations transition from one level of peace to another. To answer this, IEP has looked at both the GPI and PPI to identify different characteristics of national systems and how they operate at different levels of peacefulness.

In general, changes in Positive Peace act as leading indicators, foreshadowing changes in the GPI score. Substantial deteriorations in peace require deteriorations in a smaller number of indicators than substantial improvements in peace. Seventy per cent of the largest deteriorations fell on nine or fewer indicators while 85 per cent of substantial improvements improved on ten or more number of indicators.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN POSITIVE & NEGATIVE PEACE

The most peaceful countries in the world share one common characteristic: they demonstrate strength in all eight Pillars of Positive Peace. However, the least peaceful countries show more variation: some are weak in all eight Pillars, while others have a mix of strengths and weaknesses. This section looks at the differences in Positive Peace at different levels of peace and how Positive Peace builds and consolidates as countries progress. The research finds that building peace in fragile and less peaceful contexts requires a specific emphasis on (1) *Low Levels of Corruption*, (2) *Well-Functioning Government*, (3) *Good Relations with Neighbours* and (4) *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*. Building strength in other areas of Positive Peace is still important as all Pillars work as a system.

Figure 3.1 shows the position of countries in 2008 with respect to their levels of internal peace. Countries have been split into three groups, high-peace, mid-peace and low-peace, based on their position in the Global Peace Index in 2008.

Figure 3.1 shows the positive correlation between a country's level of Positive Peace and the internal metrics from the GPI, such that as one improves, the other does as well.

The PPI was derived by identifying the factors that correlate most strongly with the internal peace score of GPI. Internal peace was chosen as this is the aspect of the GPI which policymakers have the most ability to improve.

In this graph, countries are displayed according to their rank, with the world's most peaceful countries in blue in the lower left-hand quadrant. As countries improve, their performance in

different aspects of peacefulness converge around the best possible scores in all dimensions. The least peaceful countries also follow this same pattern – countries with weaker PPI ranks also have worse GPI scores.

The most peaceful countries in the world perform strongly on all eight Pillars of Positive Peace, as successes in each domain are mutually reinforcing. However, countries facing moderate to high levels of violence show greater variation in their overall Positive Peace scores. A look at the relationship between the GPI scores and specific aspects of Positive Peace offers more insights.

Table 3.1 shows the correlations for each of the eight Pillars of Positive Peace at each level of peace. A correlation coefficient of greater than r=0.45 indicates a strong relationship, while that above r=0.3 indicates a moderate relationship. The transition to high Positive Peace is gradual; as countries improve in peace, the correlations become stronger, highlighting the need to focus on all Pillars.

Highly peaceful countries have a lot in common with each other. Countries tend to consolidate successes as they progress, as indicated by increasingly strong correlation coefficients. Table 3.1 shows that as levels of violence fall, the strength of the correlations increase. Five of the Pillars correlate with low peace countries, six with mid-peace countries, and all eight Pillars correlate strongly in high peace countries.

Countries with moderate or low scores on the GPI are more diverse in their strengths and weaknesses in the Pillars. They do however share a common set of challenges. Low levels of peace

FIGURE 3.1

GPI Internal Peace rank vs PPI rank, 2008

Countries with high levels of peace tend to have high levels of Positive Peace as well. However, there is much more variation within countries with mid and low levels of peace than countries with high peace.
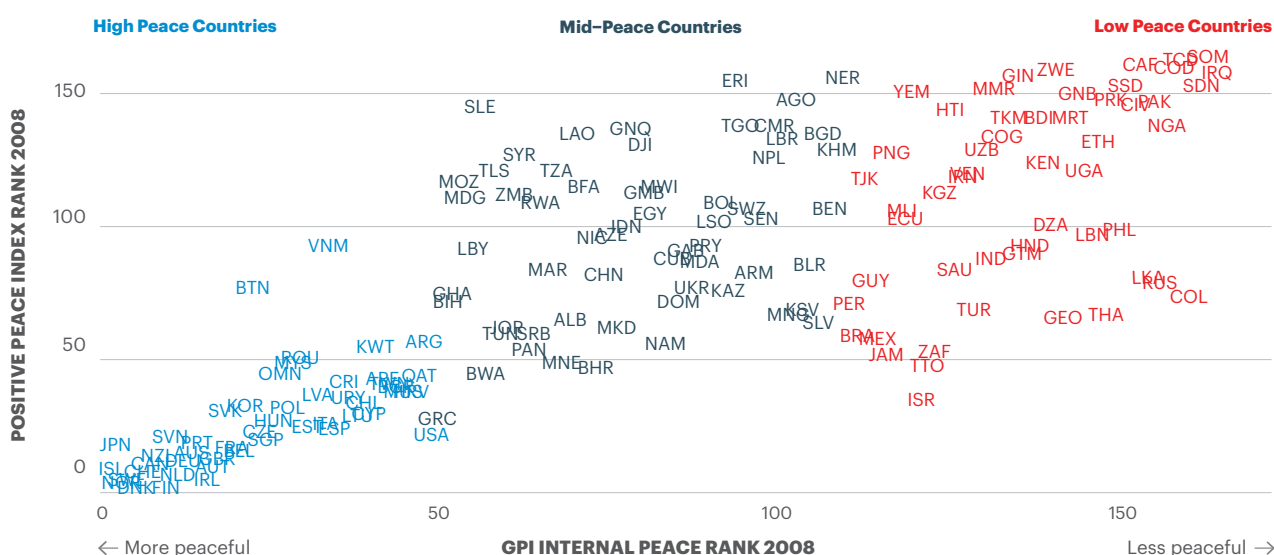
Source: IEP

TABLE 3.1

Correlation coefficients between Positive Peace and internal GPI score in High, Mid, and Low Peace Countries, 2016

Low Levels of Corruption is the only Pillar that is strongly significant across all three levels of peacefulness.

	Low Levels of Corruption	Well–Functioning Government	Good Relations with Neighbours	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Free Flow of Information	Sound Business Environment	High Levels of Human Capital	Equitable Distribution of Resources
Low-Peace Countries	0.56	0.53	0.51	0.48	0.32	0.29	0.23	0.07
Mid-Peace Countries	0.55	0.35	0.44	0.36	0.4	0.33	0.18	0.23
High-Peace Countries	0.73	0.69	0.48	0.7	0.54	0.7	0.72	0.62

r   [0.45,1)   [0.3,0.45)   [0,0.3)

Source: IEP

correlate strongly with four of the eight Pillars: (1) *Low Levels of Corruption*, (2) *Well-Functioning Government*, (3) *Good Relations with Neighbours* and (4) *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*. The stronger coefficients for these four Pillars show that these are the weaknesses consistently associated with violence.

By contrast, *Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *High Levels of Human Capital* are not as strongly associated with peace in low peace countries, as indicated by the low correlation coefficients in table 3.1. Some of the world's least peaceful countries struggle with issues of resource equity or low human capital, but it is not a consistent feature of all countries facing low levels of peacefulness.

The core requirement of government in low peace environments is to provide security to its citizens, without which a country cannot be peaceful or develop. In order for governments to function well and be trusted, corruption needs to be controlled. Poor *Relations with Neighbours* can lead to other countries attempting to interfere through direct interventions or funding militias, while group grievances (*Acceptance of the Rights of Others*) can create the identity basis for conflict.

However, this is not to say that improvements in the other Pillars are not beneficial in improving peacefulness. As can be seen in table 3.1, as countries become more peaceful, the strength of the correlation of each Pillar increases, highlighting the importance of building these Pillars. Due to the systemic nature of societies, successes are likely to positively compound as countries progress, so building strength in the other four Pillars will also help to progress peace.

Mid-peace countries have a different profile. Correlations tend to be weaker for this group, but more Pillars are moderately significantly correlated, suggesting that to make progress at moderate levels of peacefulness it is important to understand the strength of the individual Pillars before developing a strategy. *Low Levels of Corruption* is the only Pillar to maintain a strong statistical correlation across all levels of peace.

"Low Levels of Corruption is the only Pillar to maintain a strong statistical correlation across all levels of peace."

Six Pillars become important for mid-peace countries, but at a lower level of significance. When compared to low peace countries however, *Free Flow of Information* and *Sound Business Environment* have a stronger relationship. This aligns with classic state-building theory that suggests that security is a prerequisite for the development of other institutions.[1] For example, in the absence of individual security or a judiciary system to enforce transactions and contracts, it is difficult for legitimate businesses to thrive. Further, without a functioning government, *Free Flow of Information* may be hindered and censored. In order for these Pillars to become mutually reinforcing within the national system, they first need a functioning state to reinforce them.

To investigate this further, IEP has correlated each of the 24 indicators of Positive Peace to the GPI internal peace score for different levels of peace. Breaking the analysis down further to groups starting ten places apart gives a better insight into when phase transitions may be occurring. Table 3.2 shows the progression of these correlations by ranks of 10.

Equitable Distribution of Resources becomes a very important Pillar from a GPI ranking of 100 and up. *High Levels of Human Capital* becomes important from a ranking of 90 and up. Similarly, the emphasis on different Pillars becomes more critical at different stages of peace. It needs to be emphasised that all the Pillars operate as a system and that improvements in each are important for the long term.

TABLE 3.2

Correlations of internal GPI scores with all Positive Peace scores and Indicators (r>0.3 highlighted)

Indicators within *Acceptance of the Rights of Others, Good Relations with Neighbours, Low Levels of Corruption* and *Well-Functioning Government* correlate for the most peaceful countries and the least peaceful countries, but not for the mid-range countries. The remaining indicators only correlate for the most peaceful countries.

POSITIVE PEACE FACTORS											
	Ranks in the GPI internal score										
	1-60	11-70	21-80	31-90	41-100	51-110	61-120	71-130	81-140	91-150	103-162
1. Acceptance of the Rights of Others	0.73	0.67	0.53	0.43	0.36	0.35	0.25	0.37	0.23	0.05	0.4
Empowerment Index	-0.53	-0.4	-0.33	-0.17	-0.16	-0.14	-0.16	-0.13	0.06	0.13	-0.14
Gender inequality	0.66	0.69	0.5	0.35	0.15	0.09	-0.03	0.25	0.18	0.02	0.22
Group grievance rating	0.46	0.28	0.1	0.28	0.34	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.27	0.27	0.51
2. Equitable Distribution of Resources	0.64	0.71	0.52	0.45	0.2	0.15	0.04	0.18	0.1	-0.17	0.02
Inequality adjusted life expectancy	-0.64	-0.65	-0.54	-0.43	-0.21	-0.19	-0.05	-0.19	-0.13	0.18	-0.14
Social mobility	0.6	0.63	0.32	0.32	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.22	-0.06	-0.07	-0.01
Poverty gap	0.37	0.41	0.35	0.17	-0.03	-0.09	-0.11	-0.07	0.16	-0.08	0.08
3. Free Flow of Information	0.58	0.51	0.5	0.48	0.45	0.36	0.2	0.11	-0.03	-0.02	0.24
Freedom of the Press Index score	0.63	0.57	0.54	0.46	0.43	0.3	0.15	0.09	-0.04	-0.03	0.18
Mobile phone subscription rate	0.04	-0.03	-0.16	-0.34	-0.28	-0.25	-0.17	-0.05	-0.01	0.04	-0.2
World Press Freedom Index score	0.49	0.4	0.37	0.28	0.31	0.29	0.18	0.07	-0.06	0.04	0.25
4. Good Relations with Neighbours	0.47	0.54	0.57	0.57	0.39	0.36	0.23	0.26	0.03	0.14	0.42
Hostility to foreigners/private property	0.34	0.31	0.37	0.52	0.37	0.31	0.2	0.16	0.05	0.24	0.47
Number of visitors	-0.29	-0.32	-0.41	-0.42	-0.29	-0.34	-0.17	-0.2	0.17	0.05	-0.07
Regional integration	0.42	0.56	0.48	0.32	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.26	0.05	-0.02	0.31
5. High Levels of Human Capital	0.74	0.79	0.66	0.48	0.2	0.11	-0.03	0.19	0.09	-0.19	0.19
Scientific publications	-0.8	-0.81	-0.6	-0.37	-0.13	-0.13	-0.12	-0.27	0.08	0.21	-0.07
Secondary school enrolment	-0.45	-0.55	-0.44	-0.41	-0.19	-0.15	-0.01	-0.15	0.08	0.18	-0.14
Youth Development Index score	-0.75	-0.74	-0.62	-0.44	-0.19	-0.01	0.09	-0.15	-0.14	0.12	-0.23
6. Low Levels of Corruption	0.77	0.69	0.57	0.6	0.53	0.42	0.27	0.25	0.06	0.01	0.45
Control of corruption	-0.75	-0.68	-0.54	-0.6	-0.48	-0.42	-0.24	-0.16	0.07	-0.04	-0.49
Factionalised elites	0.72	0.58	0.46	0.44	0.48	0.29	0.2	0.14	0.05	-0.02	0.39
Perceptions of Corruption score	-0.76	-0.71	-0.58	-0.62	-0.5	-0.45	-0.27	-0.25	0.05	0.03	-0.38
7. Sound Business Environment	0.72	0.72	0.65	0.59	0.32	0.3	0.09	0.23	0.03	-0.18	0.21
Doing Business rank	0.63	0.68	0.61	0.54	0.25	0.28	0.07	0.19	0.03	-0.17	0.26
Economic freedom overall score	-0.51	-0.57	-0.56	-0.62	-0.37	-0.31	-0.07	-0.07	0.07	-0.02	-0.11
GDP per capita	-0.65	-0.58	-0.47	-0.39	-0.21	-0.2	-0.05	-0.22	-0.08	0.2	-0.13
8. Well-Functioning Government	0.72	0.67	0.52	0.58	0.48	0.28	0.11	0.09	-0.17	0.09	0.49
Democratic political culture	-0.62	-0.53	-0.43	-0.43	-0.37	-0.04	-0.11	-0.25	-0.17	-0.32	-0.37
Judicial independence	-0.59	-0.46	-0.25	-0.46	-0.44	-0.36	-0.07	0.02	0.27	-0.02	-0.26
Revenue collection and service delivery	-0.68	-0.65	-0.48	-0.43	-0.28	-0.21	-0.08	-0.02	0.23	0.11	-0.42

HOW COUNTRIES
TRANSITION IN PEACE

Well-developed Positive Peace represents an environment that is better suited for individuals and societies to achieve their full potential. It provides higher levels of resilience, stronger *business environments*, is more adaptable and provides more avenues for individuals to achieve their goals.

As countries progress toward higher levels of peacefulness, the eight Pillars build on one another to consolidate mutually reinforcing successes. However, as the previous section has shown, societies face different challenges at different levels of peace and development. This section unpacks the empirical evidence for a look at real-world country progress.

The first analysis in this section explores a decade of Positive Peace trends in the countries that have shown the largest improvements and deteriorations in internal peacefulness. There tends to be a common set of indicators which improve simultaneously prior to improvements in peace. Conversely, breakdowns in peace were preceded by deteriorations in a smaller set of indicators. This highlights that additional factors need to be addressed to build peace than those that cause deteriorations. Additionally, countries tend to improve concurrently in a larger number of Positive Peace indicators prior to improvements in the GPI. By contrast, deteriorations in peace can occur after only a small number of indicators worsen. The analysis shows that 85 per cent of the countries that improved in peace between 2008 and 2018 improved on more than ten indicators. Conversely, 70 per cent of countries that deteriorated in peace showed a worsening in only nine or less of the Positive Peace indicators.

The second analysis looks at major peace transitions, or the countries that have had substantial improvements or deteriorations in the GPI. These major improvements are difficult and rare, but the countries that have achieved them offer good lessons and insights.

Finally, the third analysis explores some of the risks that countries can encounter when there is an imbalance in the Pillars. The eight Pillars of Positive Peace work as a system, which means that changes in one affect the others. Imbalances in the system, where one Pillar is significantly stronger than others, creates a higher likelihood of future deteriorations in peace.

Taken together, the findings in this section have three important implications for building and sustaining peace.

- There is no 'silver bullet.' Building and sustaining peace requires a large number of society-wide improvements progressing in concert with one another over a long period of time.
- Simply addressing the factors that led to violence in the past will not be enough to sustain peace. Different aspects of the social system push society toward or away from peace, which means that improvements in peace require broader and more systemic strategies than once thought.
- Prevention should be the priority. Recovery after violence has already occurred is difficult, expensive, and requires

widespread effort to rebuild Positive Peace. Through focusing on the factors that are most vulnerable, it is possible to build resilience in the most cost-effective way.

Positive Peace as a predictor of changes in GPI score

Key findings:

→ Countries that had significant improvements in peacefulness improved in many aspects of Positive Peace at once.

→ Eighty-five per cent of countries that had large reductions in violence improved on ten or more Positive Peace indicators beforehand.

→ Seventy per cent of countries that had large deteriorations in Positive Peace deteriorated on nine or fewer indicators.

→ Medium peace countries that improved on the GPI progressed on a number of measures beforehand, including economic freedom, material well-being, cohesion between groups, cultural exchange and opportunities for youth, women and the poor.

→ Constraints on press freedom are a precursor to substantial falls in peace.

→ Seventeen out of 20 countries with the largest falls in peace had deteriorating scores on the *World Press Freedom Index* and 14 deteriorated in the *Freedom of the Press Index*.

The factors that lead to peace are different from the factors that lead to violence. Much research has been devoted to the causes of violence, based on the assumption that the inverse of these factors will lead to peace. However, IEP's latest research shows that the aspects of society that need to improve in order to build peace are different from the ones that deteriorate before the onset of violence.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 visualise the indicators that changed in countries prior to improvements or deteriorations in their GPI scores. The two diagrams show the indicators that changed together for the decade prior to the largest changes in peace over the last five years. The darker the colour between any two indicators, the more often these have moved in the same direction at the same time, either improving or deteriorating together. Displaying results for 20 countries makes the simplest visualizations, but the findings remain robust for larger sample sizes.

These two diagrams show the difference in what is happening in national systems ahead of either an improvement or a deterioration in the GPI.

Figure 3.2 depicts the relationships between Positive Peace indicators before a deterioration in the internal GPI score. This shows there are some generalisable trends when looking at the

FIGURE 3.2

Deteriorations in Positive Peace prior to deteriorations in GPI score, 2014–2018

There are only a few common Positive Peace indicators that deteriorated in unison across the countries with 20 largest deteriorations in the GPI. These tend to be political in nature. The darker the shading the stronger the association with falls in peace.
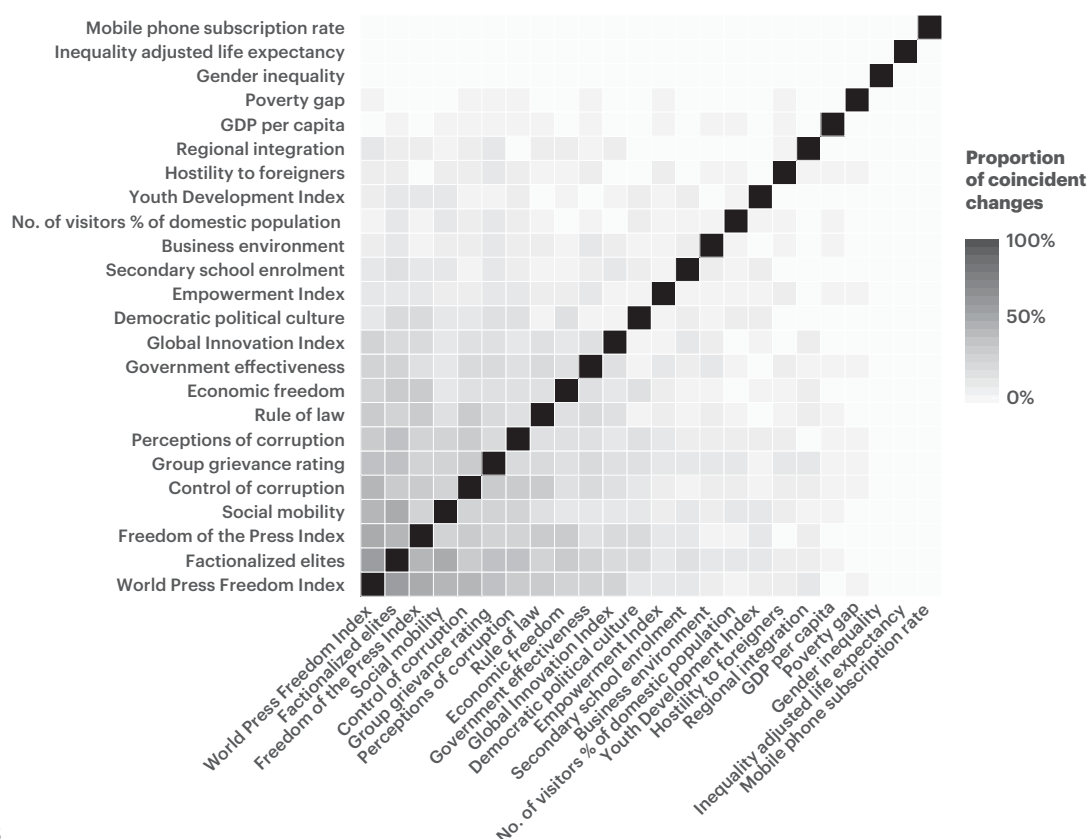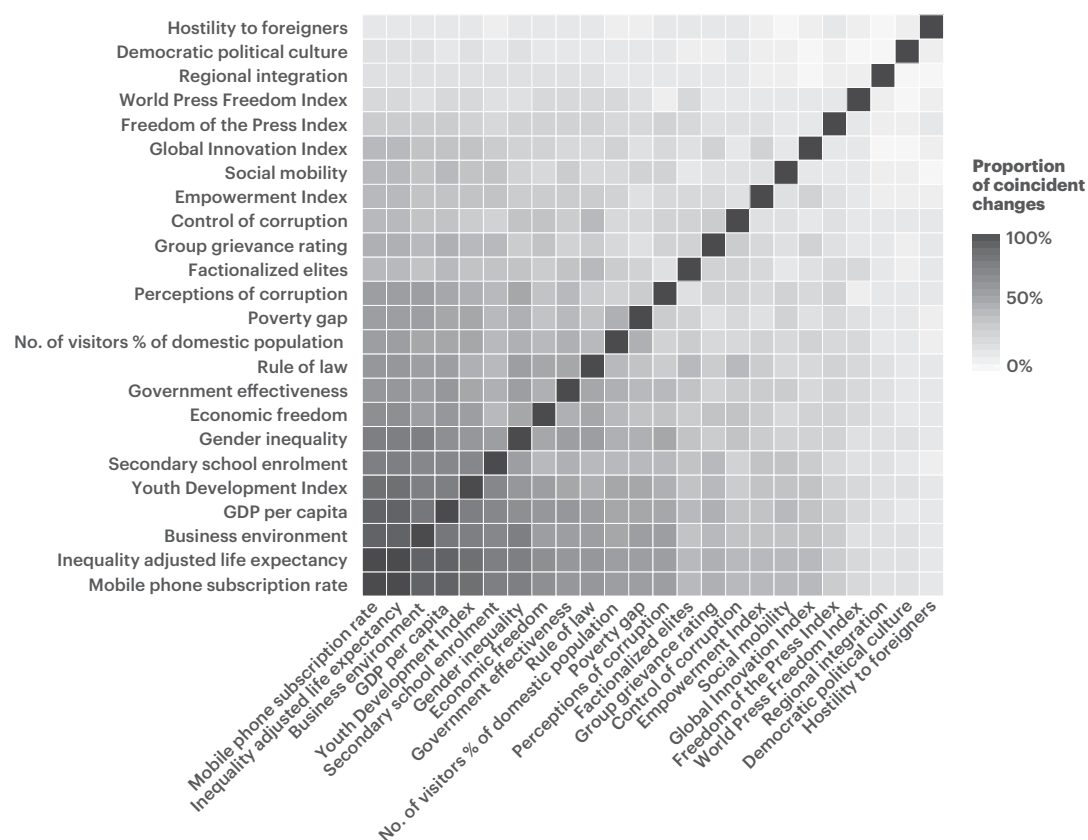

FIGURE 3.3

Improvements in Positive Peace prior to improvements in GPI score, 2014–2018

There are many Positive Peace indicators that improved in unison across the the countries with 20 largest improvements in the GPI. These tend to be economic in nature. The darker the shading the stronger the association with improvements in peace.
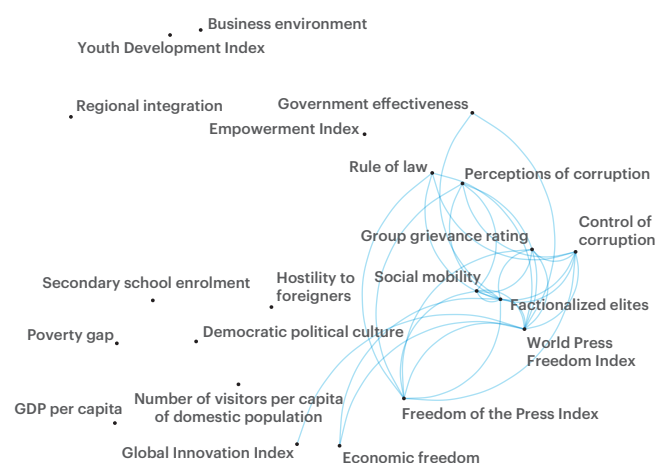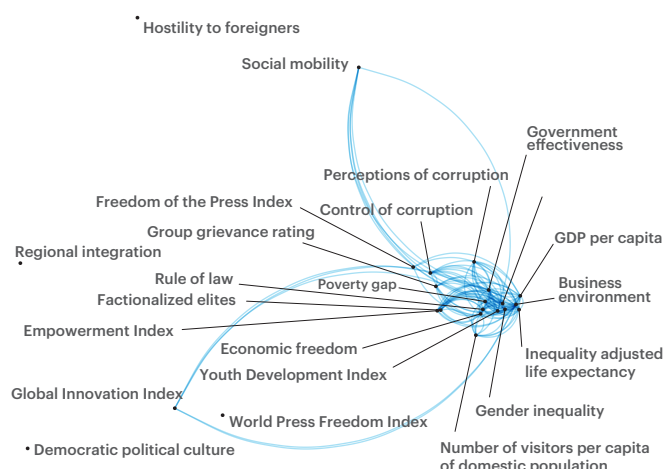

Source: IEP

FIGURE 3.4

Changes in Positive Peace prior to changes in Negative Peace

It takes many concurrent improvements in Positive Peace to reduce levels of violence. Breakdowns in peacefulness are preceded by deteriorations in fewer indicators in positive peace than improvements in peace. The closer and more connected an indicator is to others, the more often these factors have moved in the same direction at the same time.

Pairwise Relative Frequency of indicators, 20 largest deteriorations   **Pairwise relative frequency of indicators, 20 largest improvements**

Source: IEP

countries with the 20 largest deteriorations in GPI between 2014 and 2018. Most of these countries experienced deteriorations related to corruption, tensions between groups and the quality of and access to information in society. Constraints on press freedoms are also a common feature of deteriorations in peacefulness. These indicators tend to deteriorate in unison more frequently than other combinations prior to a deterioration in the GPI.

Figure 3.3 shows the indicators that improved before an improvement in the GPI score. Countries that improved in the GPI showed greater coordinated improvements in a larger number of indicators of Positive Peace between 2014 and 2018 when compared to countries that deteriorated in peace.

These societies improved on many of the same indicators that deteriorated ahead of deteriorations in the GPI, such as measures of corruption, governance and the *Free Flow of Information*. But they also improved on a number of other dimensions, especially business measures, such as economic freedom, per capita income and material well-being (rising life expectancy and incomes). There were also improvements in cohesion between groups, cultural exchange and opportunities for youth, women and the poor. As the top 20 improvers in the GPI are mid peace countries, this confirms that the *Sound Business Environment* Pillar is important to further improvements when a base level of peace is achieved. It also highlights the systemic nature of Positive Peace and how improvements in a number of Pillars reinforce each other, forming a virtuous cycle.

Figure 3.2 and 3.3 can also be visualised in the system maps in Figure 3.4. On this mapping, connections between indicators highlight that the two indicators changed together in at least one country. The more countries in which two indicators changed together, the closer together these indicators are placed on the map.

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPROVEMENTS IN NEGATIVE PEACE

The nature and make-up of improvements in peacefulness are influenced by two things:
- Country-specific features, like geography, government type and the starting level of peace, and
- Characteristics of peacefulness that are common across cultures, societies and levels of development.

Countries that have shown significant reductions in violence and improvements in peacefulness have had several things in common, such as:
- Improved many aspects of Positive Peace at once
- Improved institutions, information and material well-being in society
- Reduced corruption
- Maintained limits on civilian access to small arms and light weapons[2]

The 20 countries that experienced the largest improvements in their internal GPI score in the last five years all had improvements in some aspects of Positive Peace in the decade prior. Out of these 85 per cent, 17 of the 20 improved in ten or more indicators. In total, 13 improved their overall Positive Peace scores from 2005 to 2014. One recorded no change and six deteriorated.

Figure 3.6 shows the number of Positive Peace indicators that improved in each country.

There were also commonalities in terms of which indicators improved. Figure 3.5 gives the specific Positive Peace indicators that improved most often. All 20 countries had rising rates of mobile phone access and longer life expectancies in the decade prior to improving in peacefulness, consistent with the global trend. Eighteen countries improved their *business environments* and increased their per capita GDP. Seventeen countries

FIGURE 3.5

Number of countries to improve on each indicator, top 20 improving countries, 2005–2014

Improvements in connectivity, material well-being, the economy, gender equality and youth development are common leading indicators of improvements in peace.
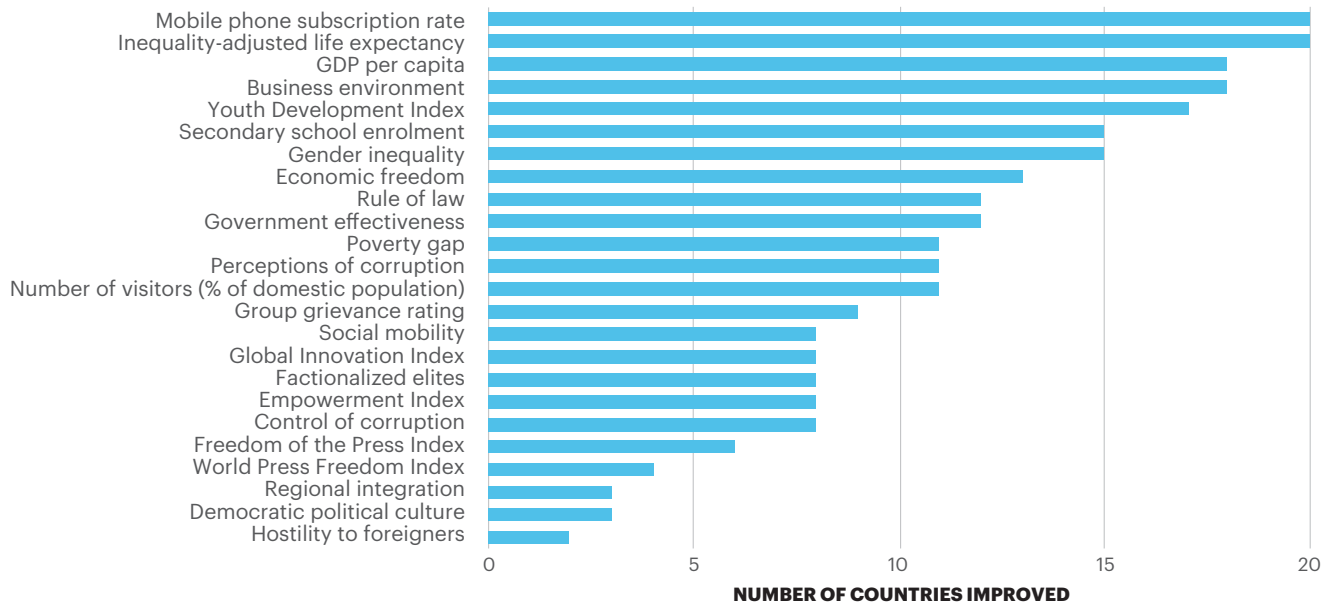
Source: IEP

improved their levels of *youth development*, an important input to peacefulness, and 15 improved secondary education rates and gender equality.

Only one of these countries currently has very low peace. This highlights the changing nature of the importance of various indicators at different levels of peace. Measures of economic performance and inclusion become more important as countries move from very low levels of peace to medium levels of peace.

All of these indicators are common development factors known to improve peacefulness. However, most analyses try to isolate the effect of each individual variable. IEP's systems analysis finds that the important thing is that many improvements happen at once, not that any one of these common improvements is more important than another. The different components of Positive Peace not only help to reduce and prevent violence, they also positively influence one another. As a result, moving the social system to a higher level of peace, rather than returning to homeostasis, requires not just one improvement, but many improving feedback loops occurring at the same time. (See page 11 for a detailed explanation of homeostasis and feedback loops in peace systems.)

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETERIORATIONS IN THE GPI SCORE

The countries that deteriorated most in internal peacefulness also had several things in common. Countries that experienced large deteriorations:

- Experienced a few key deteriorations in Positive Peace in the years prior
- Experienced deteriorations in access to and quality of information
- Had rising tensions between groups and levels of corruption
- Had easier access to *small arms and light weapons*

FIGURE 3.6

Number of Positive Peace indicators for the 20 countries with largest improvements in GPI score, 2005–2014

Eighty-five per cent of countries that had large improvements in their GPI score improved on ten or more Positive Peace indicators beforehand.
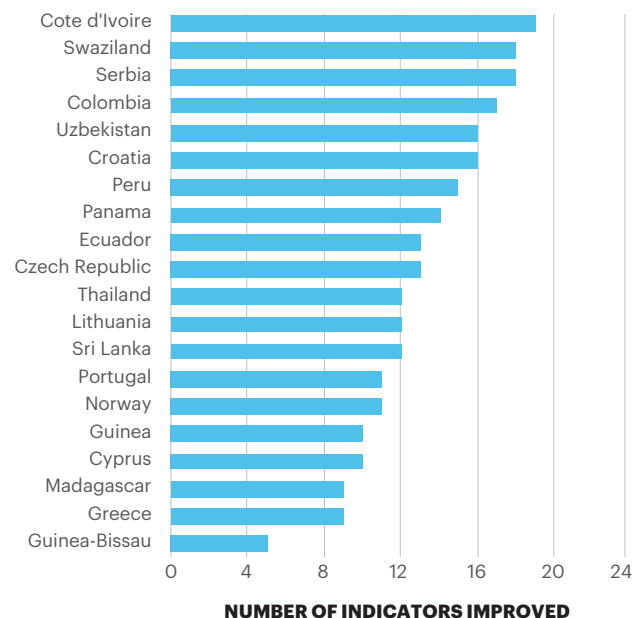
Source: IEP

FIGURE 3.7

Number of countries to deteriorate on each indicator, top 20 deteriorating countries, 2005-2014

Deteriorations in press freedom, tensions between groups, social mobility and corruption are common leading indicators of deteriorations in peace.

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES DETERIORATING
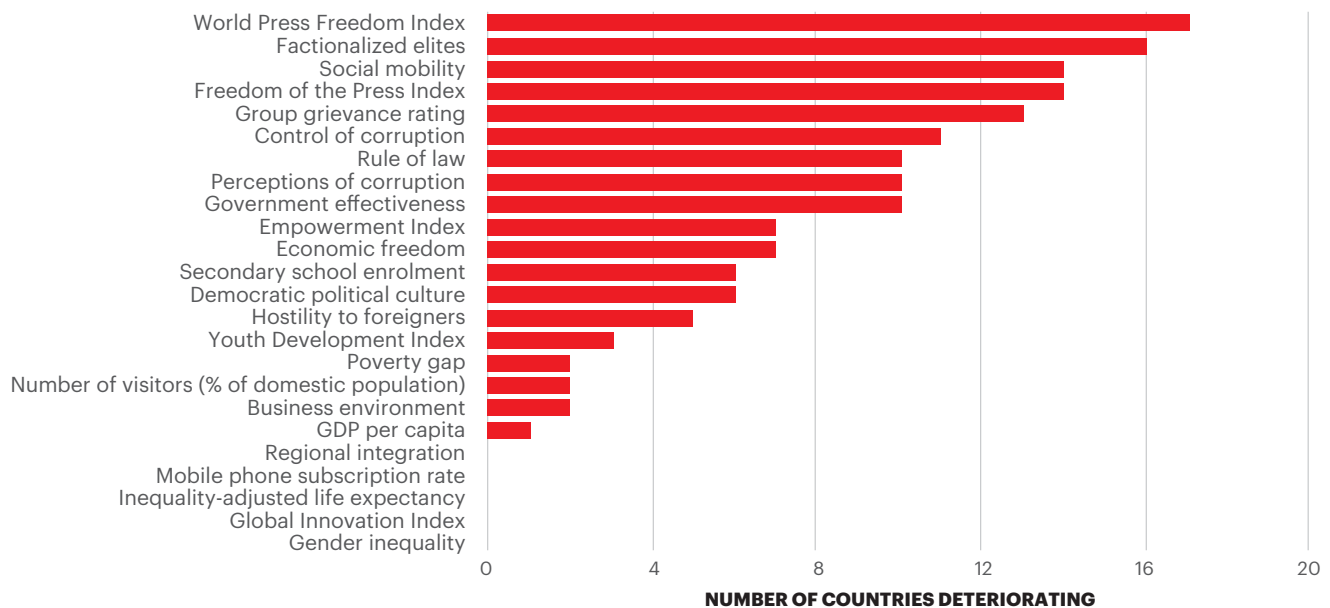
Source: IEP

Fourteen out of 20 countries, or 70 per cent, deteriorated on fewer than ten Positive Peace indicators in the decade prior. Only one country – Kuwait – deteriorated in as many as 12 indicators, or half the total included in the index. These findings suggest that it takes relatively few weaknesses, challenges or triggers in society to result in violence, whereas it takes many improvements to recover.

Figure 3.7 shows how many of these countries deteriorated on each indicator. Seventeen out of 20 countries had worsening scores on the *World Press Freedom Index* and 14 deteriorated in the *Freedom of the Press Index*, indicating that constraints on press freedom can be a precursor to violence.

Factionalisation intensified in 16 of these 20 countries. The factionalised elites indicator measures "the fragmentation of state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines, as well as brinksmanship and gridlock between ruling elites."[3] IEP includes this indicator in the *Low Levels of Corruption* Pillar because this type of factionalisation creates an enabling environment for corruption. Intensifying factionalisation also indicates growing tensions between groups in society. Taken together, several of the key deteriorating indicators show that rising perceptions of unfairness and injustice contribute to outbreaks or escalations of violence. These perceptions may be exacerbated by simultaneous deteriorations in *Free Flow of Information*.

The indicators most frequently associated with reductions in peace are: factionalised elites, social mobility, the group grievance rating, control of corruption and perceptions of corruption. Where tensions between groups combine with corruption and the perception that resources and benefits are distributed unfairly between groups, peacefulness is more likely to deteriorate.

FIGURE 3.8

Number of Positive Peace indicators for the 20 countries with largest deteriorations in GPI score, 2005–2014

Seventy per cent of countries that had large deteriorations in Positive Peace deteriorated on nine or fewer indicators beforehand.

NUMBER OF INDICATORS DETERIORATING
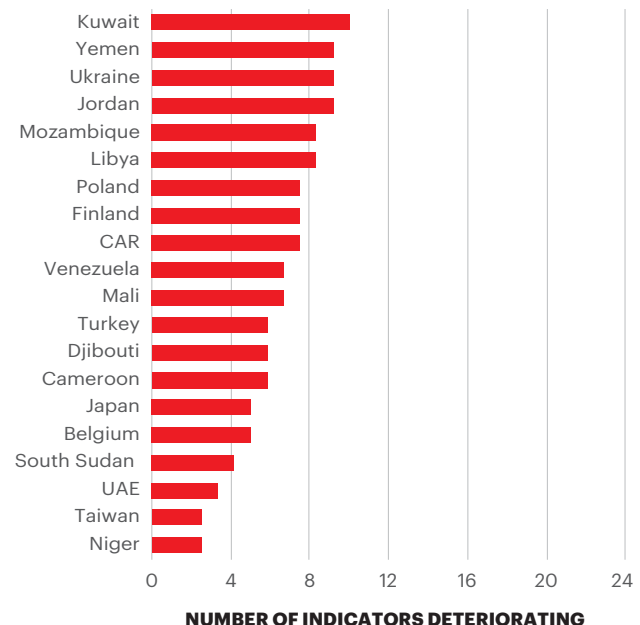
Source: IEP

MAJOR PEACE TRANSITIONS

FIGURE 3.9

Peace transitions, 2008–2016

DETERIORATED COUNTRIES vs HIGH-PEACE COUNTRIES

When compared to other high-peace countries in 2008, countries that **deteriorated** by 2016 had:

- Higher access to small arms and light weapons
- Weaker Positive Peace scores in all eight Pillars

DETERIORATED COUNTRIES vs MID-PEACE COUNTRIES

When compared to other mid-peace countries in 2008, countries that **deteriorated** by 2016 had:

- Higher number of internal security officers & police per 100,000
- Higher group grievances
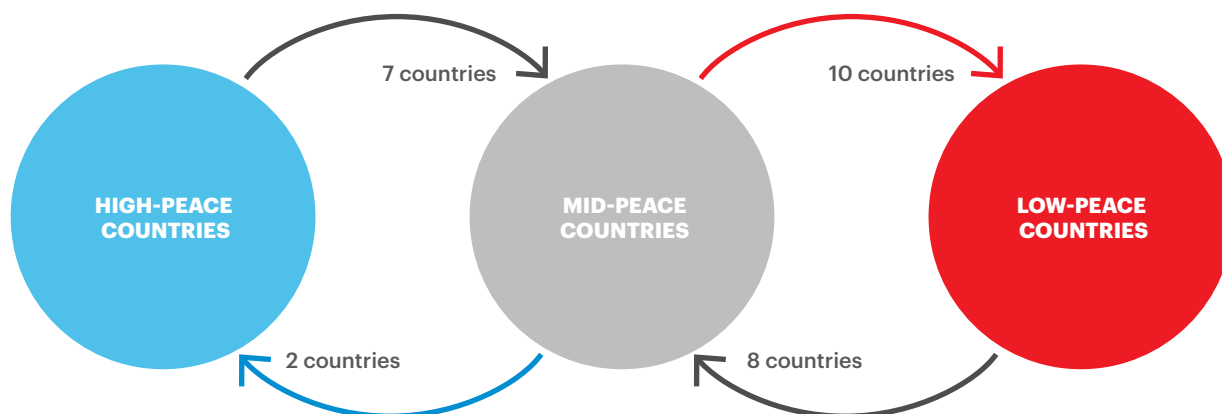
IMPROVED COUNTRIES vs MID-PEACE COUNTRIES

When compared to other mid-peace countries in 2008, countries that **improved** by 2016 had:

- Lower access to small arms and light weapons
- Higher income
- More free flow of information
- Better business environment
- Higher number of internal security officers and police per 100,000 people

IMPROVED COUNTRIES vs LOW-PEACE COUNTRIES

When compared to other low peace countries in 2008, countries that **improved** by 2016 had:

- Lower access to small arms and light weapons
- Higher economic freedom
- Better relations with neighbours
- Less hostility to foreigners' private property
- Higher youth development

Source: IEP

The period from 2008 to 2016 was marked by a downturn in global peacefulness, with some countries experiencing dramatic changes in their internal peace GPI scores. This period recorded more countries deteriorating in peace than improving, but there were enough country-level changes in each direction to examine the characteristics of countries with substantial, categorical changes.

Countries were split into three groups – low-peace, mid-peace and high-peace – and this analysis highlights the common characteristics of countries that improved or deteriorated enough to move from one of these groups to the next. Characteristics of transitioning countries have been identified using statistical hypothesis tests. These tests highlight, with 95 per cent confidence, the specific indicators that were particularly high or low for the transitioning countries when compared to their group. Figure 3.9 highlights the results of this analysis.

TRANSITIONS TO LOWER LEVELS OF PEACE

High to mid-peace transitions: Between 2008 and 2016, seven countries deteriorated from the high to the mid-peace group. These countries were Argentina, Costa Rica, Kuwait, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay and Vietnam. When compared

to other countries in the high-peace group in 2008, these seven countries performed worse in all eight Pillars of Positive Peace and had higher *access to small arms and light weapons*.

Mid to low peace transitions: Between 2008 and 2016, ten countries deteriorated from the mid to the low peace group. These countries were Bahrain, Cameroon, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Niger, Rwanda, El Salvador, Syria and Ukraine. When compared to other countries with the same starting level of peacefulness in 2008, these countries had markedly higher levels of *group grievances* and had a higher rate of *internal security and police officers*. The interaction of grievances combined with limited options for peaceful resolution within these countries and high levels of state security forces offer greater potential for large-scale violence to erupt.

TRANSITIONS TO HIGHER LEVELS OF PEACE

Low to mid peace transitions: Between 2008 and 2016, eight countries improved from the low to the mid peace group. These countries were Algeria, Ecuador, Georgia, Haiti, Israel, Sri Lanka, Peru and Uganda. When compared to other countries with low levels of peace in 2008, these countries had lower *access to small arms and light weapons*. They also had more

economic freedom, better *Relations with Neighbours*, less *hostility to foreigners* and performed better in *youth development*.

Mid to high peace transitions: Between 2008 and 2016, only two countries improved from the mid to the high peace group. These countries were Botswana and Serbia. The low number of countries to make this transition suggests that while it is possible to have large and rapid deteriorations in peace, transitioning to a high level of peacefulness was much more difficult in the decade measured. It also makes it difficult for statistical tests to confidently identify features of these countries that made them different to other mid-peace countries in 2008. However, both Botswana and Serbia once again had lower levels of *access to small arms and light weapons*. On average, these countries had higher incomes than other mid-peace countries in 2008.

These societies had better *business environments* and were more transparent, with higher levels of *Free Flow of Information*. They also had higher *numbers of security and police forces*. This raises a question on the role of state security forces in peace transitions. Larger security forces were also a characteristic of countries that had large deteriorations between 2008 and 2016. This suggests that security forces can be either a positive or a negative factor in transitions, depending on the strength of countries' Positive Peace. Without strong Positive Peace, there may not be appropriate checks and balances on security operations.

> **"While it is possible to have large and rapid deteriorations in peace, transitioning to a high level of peacefulness was much more difficult in the decade measured."**

UNEVEN PROGRESS IN POSITIVE PEACE

IEP's research has found that if improvements are made in one Pillar without corresponding improvements in others, then violence is more likely to increase. This highlights the need to consider the systemic nature of Positive Peace when planning development projects.

When improvements in *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* occur without corresponding improvements in the other Pillars, there may be a negative effect on the levels of peace. For example, youth development policies often increase budget funding for education, thereby improving the *High Levels of Human Capital* Pillar. However, unless the economy can absorb graduates into the labour market, this runs the risk of building a highly educated yet idle youth cohort.[4] Flooding the labour market with university graduates when the economy cannot absorb them may have a radicalising effect and is one of the push factors that militant organisations have taken advantage of in recruitment of youth.[5]

To isolate the situations where an improvement in one Pillar without accompanying improvements in others can lead to deteriorations in overall peace, partial correlations analysis was used. This looks at the relationship between two indicators, controlling for the potential effect of a third or more indicators. Partial correlations, while not providing causation, can provide quantitative evidence of the impact of an intervention that focusses on one Pillar over the remaining seven.

This highlights that improvements in *Sound Business Environment* and *High Levels of Human Capital* need to be made in conjunction with *Low Levels of Corruption* and *Well-functioning Government* otherwise they can lead to unrest.

Table 3.3 summarises the results.

TABLE 3.3
Effects of improving one pillar while keeping another constant

Improvements in *Sound Business Environment*, *High Levels of Human Capital* and *Equitable Distribution of Resources* can have negative effects on levels of peace if achieved without improvements in the levels of corruption, governance and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others*.

Region	Improving this pillar	Without improving this pillar	R value
Asia-Pacific	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.48
Central America and the Caribbean	Sound Business Environment	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.42
Central America and the Caribbean	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government	-0.52
South America	Sound Business Environment	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	-0.44
South America	High Levels of Human Capital	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.46
South America	Sound Business Environment	Low Levels of Corruption	-0.48
South America	High Levels of Human Capital	Well-Functioning Government	-0.48
South America	Sound Business Environment	Well-Functioning Government	-0.49
Sub-Saharan Africa	High Levels of Human Capital	Well-Functioning Government	-0.41

FIGURE 3.10
Mexico vs global PPI pillar scores, 2017

Mexico underperforms in *Low Levels of Corruption* compared to global numbers.

Source: IEP

MEXICO – A CASE STUDY

Mexico – a country with high overall Positive Peace and high levels of violence – is a good example of this tension. While Mexico outperformed the global and regional averages in *Sound Business Environment, High Levels of Human Capital, Good Relations with Neighbours, Equitable Distribution of Resources* and *Acceptance of the Rights of Others,* it underperformed in *Well-Functioning Government, Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information.* This imbalance between Pillars underpins Mexico's difficulties in addressing its high rates of criminal violence.

Figure 3.10 compares Mexico's Pillar scores with the average Pillar scores of the countries that ranked in the top quintile of the 2017 PPI. It shows that Mexico's three most underperforming Pillars are the ones for which the distance from the best performing quintile is greatest. This highlights that Mexico's ability to improve its levels of peacefulness largely depends on its ability to improve these three underperforming Pillars.

These imbalances create risks for peace. If Mexico is to become more peaceful, it needs to focus on strengthening its weakest Pillars: *Well-Functioning Government, Low Levels of Corruption* and *Free Flow of Information.* Although building a *Sound Business Environment* and improving levels of human capital are important, focusing on them to the exclusion of other Pillars will not promote peace.

In high Positive Peace systems, *Low Levels of Corruption* and a *Well-Functioning Government* act as barriers to the growth of organized criminal activity. But in Mexico, a country with a

sizeable illicit economy, the scores for *Well-Functioning Government* and *Low Levels of Corruption* remain low, reflecting the country's lagging institutional capacity to tackle organized crime and the violent activities associated with it.

The high levels of criminality and violence in Mexico and many of its Central and South American neighbors are primarily driven by economic rather than political gain: access to illicit commodities, trafficking territory or drug cultivation. The infrastructure normally associated with high-performing legal businesses can also be used for illicit activities, such as leveraging telecommunications networks, using road networks for access to ports and borders and laundering money through legitimate banks and businesses. While corruption can facilitate the operation of criminal activities, weaknesses in the law enforcement and justice system can reduce the capacity to prosecute crimes. Consequently, high levels of impunity translate into lower opportunity costs for engaging in illicit activities or in committing violent crimes.

Meanwhile, the tens of billions of dollars of illicit profits flowing through Central America and into the U.S. generate wealth for criminal syndicates. Global Financial Integrity (GFI), an independent think tank, conservatively estimated that inward and outward illicit financial flows in Mexico totaled USD 77.6 billion between 2005 and 2013.[6]

The complementary relationship between Mexico's *Sound Business Environment* and criminal activity demonstrates the importance of 'systems thinking' for Positive Peace. When aspects of the system are out of balance, Positive Peace will not be robust enough to foster lower levels of violence.

4

Implementing Positive Peace

This section focuses on the practical application of Positive Peace, highlighting some of the successful policies and programs that have been implemented around the world. Case studies of three countries that have improved strongly in Positive Peace have been included, with examples of the actions that they have taken. This section also describes a number of IEP's Positive Peace workshops on the Pillars of Positive Peace, training over 700 young leaders from across five countries. The policies and lessons described in this section should serve as guides for countries, communities, organisations and individuals seeking to promote Positive Peace locally and globally.

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

Around the world, certain countries have overcome challenges to their peacefulness, leading to improvements in their Global Peace Index and Positive Peace Index scores. Using the Pillars of Positive Peace as a framework, this section illustrates the policy challenges and successes of three such countries: Bhutan, Peru and Timor-Leste. These countries vary geographically, culturally, economically and have very different histories. However, they have each implemented unique solutions that have produced tangible economic, political and social benefits. Although each country still faces domestic and international challenges, their successes can help guide other countries seeking to improve in Positive Peace.

Bhutan

Background

Located between India and China, the Kingdom of Bhutan leads South Asia in Positive Peace. Bhutan is internationally renowned for conceiving Gross National Happiness, a metric that has been codified as a national priority in the country's constitution.[1] Bhutan elected its National Assembly for the first time in 2008, successfully transitioning from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.

In recent years, socioeconomic development programs, funded by hydroelectricity exports and foreign aid, have enabled Bhutan to dramatically improve its poverty and education rates. Bhutan's per capita income has grown steadily from US$340 in 1980 to US$5,570 in 2011, evidencing the country's development successes.[2] Targeted government programs such as the Rural Economy Advancement Program (REAP) and National Rehabilitation Program (NRP) have provided monetary and infrastructural aid to marginalised communities.[3] To enhance its business environment, Bhutan established a National Portal that provides legal information essential to entrepreneurs.[4]

Bhutan has faced challenges. The country had been under scrutiny for the displacement of over 100,000 Lhotshampas, an ethnic group in southern Bhutan, between 1988 and 1993.[5] However, consistent improvements in GPI and PPI have established Bhutan as a regional and international role model in terms of peace and development policy.

Notable Successes by Pillar

- **Well-Functioning Government:** In 2007, a royal decree legalised political parties in order to improve the country's political culture. Bhutan democratically elected its National Assembly for the first time in 2008.[6]
- **Equitable Distribution of Resources:** The Common Minimum Program, established as part of the country's 10th Five-Year Plan, ensures that all gewogs (or groups of villages) have access to basic infrastructure and services, such as healthcare, schooling, water supplies, sanitation systems, electricity, telecommunication facilities and roads to gewog centres.
- **Free Flow of Information:** In 1999, the Bhutanese government lifted a ban on television and internet. In 2014, the Bhutan Power Corporation and Ministry of Information and Communications established fibre optic infrastructure throughout the country that reaches all 20 of the country's districts. To lower prices, telecom providers are allowed to use the fibres for free.[7]
- **Sound Business Environment:** The National Portal of Bhutan is a government-run online web portal that contains a range of practical information on legislation, requirements and licenses for businesses.[8]
- **Acceptance of the Rights of Others:** Policies passed by the National Parliament, such as the Child Care and Protection Act of Bhutan 2011, Child Adoption Act of Bhutan 2012 and Domestic Violence Prevention Act of Bhutan 2013, show movements toward greater acceptance of rights within the country.

- **Good Relations with Neighbours:** Bhutan is collaborating with India and Bangladesh on hydropower projects that continue to expand Bhutan's capacity to generate and export energy, which currently constitutes 25 per cent of Bhutan's government revenue.[9] These international collaborations strengthen Bhutan's *Good Relations with Neighbours* and provide an example of policies in one Pillar that also help to strengthen others, namely *Sound Business Environment* and *Well-functioning Government.*
- **Low Levels of Corruption:** Established in 2006 under the Anti-Corruption Act, Bhutan's fully-independent Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) promotes integrity and the prevention, detection and punishment of corruption in the public sector. It also educates the general public about the role of the ACC and what constitutes corruption.[10]
- **High Levels of Human Capital:** Starting in the 1960s with the country's first Five Year Plan, Bhutan has sought to universally provide nine years of free education. Due to the initial lack of secular educators in Bhutan, the government recruited teachers from neighbouring India. For parts of the kingdom where it was impractical to walk to school due to distance or terrain, boarding schools were established. In the early 1960s, Bhutan had barely 40 educators; today, the country has more than 6,000.

Peru

Background

Peru has emerged as one of Latin America's most prosperous countries following decades of military coups, violent insurgencies, social unrest and macroeconomic challenges. In recent decades, prudent monetary, exchange and investment policies have allowed Peru to weather international economic crises and commodity price declines.[11] Peru's National Electoral Board (Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, JNE) and National Office of Electoral Processes (Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, ONPE) have helped ensure fair and peaceful elections.[12]

Peru has undergone six consecutive peaceful and democratic changes of power, and remains politically stable today. The country's economy grew at an average annual rate of 6.1 per cent between 2002 and 2013, increasing per capita income levels and reducing poverty.[13] Reductions in economic inequality and poverty have also been helped by Juntos, the government's monthly monetary stipend program for socioeconomically vulnerable Peruvians.[14] Access to the internet has increased due to privatisation of the telecommunications sector and government subsidies for telecom developments in rural areas, improving interconnectivity even in historically underserved parts of the country.[15] Scholarships are making higher education attainable for low-income Peruvians.[16]

In 2001, a Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, CVR) was set up to establish justice surrounding the country's internal conflict during the 1990's.[17] In 2011, the Peruvian Congress passed a law requiring the consultation of indigenous and rural communities before developments or projects involving their ancestral territories, which in the past had been a source of much social conflict.[18]

Although Peru still faces challenges, its low *homicide rate* compared to its neighbours, consistent economic performance, amicable regional relations and impressive GPI and PPI scores have made it a global success story.[19]

Notable Successes by Pillar

- **Well-Functioning Government:** Peru created the Acuerdo Nacional, a consultative body comprised of representatives from various sectors that defines long-term government reform objectives and policies.[20] Meetings of the body are attended by high ranking members of the country's political parties as well as worker's union, business and professional association representatives. It is the country's highest-level policymaking body and a critical mechanism for the creation of both policies and political consensus.[22]
- **Sound Business Environment:** Macroeconomic reforms halted hyperinflation in the 1990s and opened Peru up to international trade and investment. Since then, Peru has been one of the region's fastest growing economies with an average growth rate of 5.9 per cent and low inflation averaging 2.9 per cent.[23]
- **Equitable Distribution of Resources:** In 2005, Peru's Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social, MIDIS) implemented Juntos, a conditional cash transfer program that provides monthly support to poor families.
- **High Levels of Human Capital:** To improve access to higher education, Peru's Ministry of Education created the BECA 18 program, which offers government-sponsored scholarships to impoverished or vulnerable youth.[24]
- **Free Flow of Information:** The Peruvian government's Telecommunications Investment Fund (Fondo de Inversión en Telecomunicaciones, FITEL) subsidises telecom services in rural areas and other places where returns for private providers are marginal.[25]
- **Low Levels of Corruption:** Peru's High-Level Anti-Corruption Commission (Comisión de Alto Nivel Anticorrupcion, CAN) seeks to prevent and combat corruption by coordinating government anti-corruption efforts and proposing policy solutions.[26] For example, CAN helped with drafting and ultimately approved, Peru's National Policy on Integrity and the Fight Against Corruption (Política Nacional de Integridad y Lucha contra la Corrupción) in 2017.[27]
- **Good Relations with Neighbours:** In 2004, after decades of border disputes, Peru and Chile signed a statement expressing their intent to forge closer ties and develop bilateral relations.[28] Peru is a member of Mercosur, the Pacific Alliance, the Community of Andean Nations, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Commission of Latin American and Caribbean States and the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation, among other international bodies.
- **Acceptance of the Rights of Others:** In 2001, the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, CVR) was set up with the goal of seeking justice in the aftermath of violence in the 1990's. Proceedings of the CVR allowed the conviction of former president Alberto Fujimori and other human rights violators.[29,30]

Timor-Leste

Background

Timor-Leste is one of the youngest countries in the world, having gained formal independence in early 2002. After being controlled

by Indonesia since 1975, Timor-Leste held a UN-organised independence referendum in 1999.[31] Violent conflict with the Indonesian military and pro-Indonesia militias led to a peacekeeping and institution-building UN intervention that lasted until 2012.[32] A Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation enabled Timorese communities to heal following years of violence.[33]

Timor-Leste established a legislative Constituent Assembly in 2001, elected its first president in 2002 and successfully executed its second consecutive peaceful transfer of power in 2017.[34] Revenue from petroleum exports and international aid have funded development programs and economic diversification.[35] For example, in 2016, Timor-Leste's Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the World Bank launched a US$21 million project aimed at increasing smallholder agricultural productivity.[36]

Between 2005 and 2017, Timor-Leste experienced the Asia-Pacific region's largest improvement in *Equitable Distribution of Resources*, illustrating the country's development gains. Government investment in education and workforce development through programs such as the Education Sector Support Project (ESSP) have led to an 8.8 per cent improvement in *High Levels of Human Capital*. Timor-Leste liberalised its telecommunications sector in 2011, allowing more telecom operators to enter the market and driving a 17.6 per cent improvement in its *Free Flow of Information* score since 2005. The UN General Assembly plans on graduating Timor-Leste from Least Developed Countries (LDC) status in December 2021, reflecting the nation's past successes and future potential.[37]

Notable Successes by Pillar

- **Well-Functioning Government:** Timor-Leste's National Election Commission (CNE) and Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration (STAE) collectively ensure lawful elections, register voters and administer civic education, among other mandates.
- **Equitable Distribution of Resources:** Although almost half of Timorese live below the national poverty line, the government is committed to improving the socioeconomic prospects of subsistence farmers. For example, in 2016 the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries' introduced a US$21 million project aimed at increasing smallholder agricultural productivity.
- **Free Flow of Information:** In 2011, the National Communications Authority of Timor-Leste liberalised the country's telecommunications sector by renegotiating its exclusion concession contract with Timor Telecom. This allowed more companies to enter the market and more than doubled cellular connections between 2011 and 2017.
- **Sound Business Environment:** In 2012, Timor-Leste's Ministry of Finance established a Registry and Verification of Enterprises Service (SERVE) as a one-stop shop for the registration of businesses, encouraging entrepreneurship and foreign investment.
- **Acceptance of the Rights of Others:** Following the violence resulting from Timor-Leste's 1999 independence referendum the UN mission in Timor-Leste established a Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação, CAVR). CAVR enabled Timor-Leste to receive and reintegrate individuals who had caused harm, restore the dignity of victims, and formulate

recommendations to prevent recurrence of human rights violations.[38]
- **Good Relations with Neighbours:** In 2005, Timor-Leste and Indonesia formed a Commission for Truth and Friendship (CTF), strengthening relations between the two countries.[39]
- **Low Levels of Corruption:** In 2010, Timor-Leste's National Parliament established the Anti-Corruption Commission (CAC) in an attempt to reduce the prevalence of corruption in the country, leading to an increased number of corruption convictions and a seven per cent improvement in the country's *Low Levels of Corruption* score.
- **High Levels of Human Capital:** A partnership between Timor-Leste's Ministry of Education and the World Bank, the Education Sector Support Project (ESSP) constructed and rehabilitated 2,100 classrooms. This added capacity for more than 65,000 students and contributed to a 10 percentage point increase in primary school completion rates between 2009 and 2012.

IEP'S POSITIVE PEACE PROGRAMS

IEP has collaborated with a number of organisations to develop and implement workshops designed to build Positive Peace in their respective countries and communities. IEP's Positive Peace Workshops train participants on Positive Peace and how to implement Positive Peace programs. The programs and workshops can be adapted to the local context. This section of the report gives an overview of IEP's workshop model and provides examples of programs to strengthen Positive Peace.

POSITIVE PEACE WORKSHOPS

The primary goal of the Positive Peace workshops is to facilitate local communities and individuals to develop practical and concrete actions that can strengthen peace by enhancing the *attitudes, institutions and structures* associated with Positive peace at the sub-national and community level. Positive Peace workshops also serve to educate participants on Positive Peace, how to implement it in their societies and how to involve an ever-widening network of people in understanding and pursuing Positive Peace.

These Positive Peace workshops have the following working principles:
- They are guided by a participatory and locally-focused strategy. The approach for the Positive Peace workshops is based on fundamental concepts such as local ownership, local leadership and multi-stakeholder partnership.
- Workshops are sensitive to the intricacies of local dynamics. By letting the local communities define what the interventions should be, workshops ensure that the activities are culturally sensitive, viable and appropriate in the local context.
- They are designed to complement and not disrupt other more formal or technocratic peacebuilding approaches.
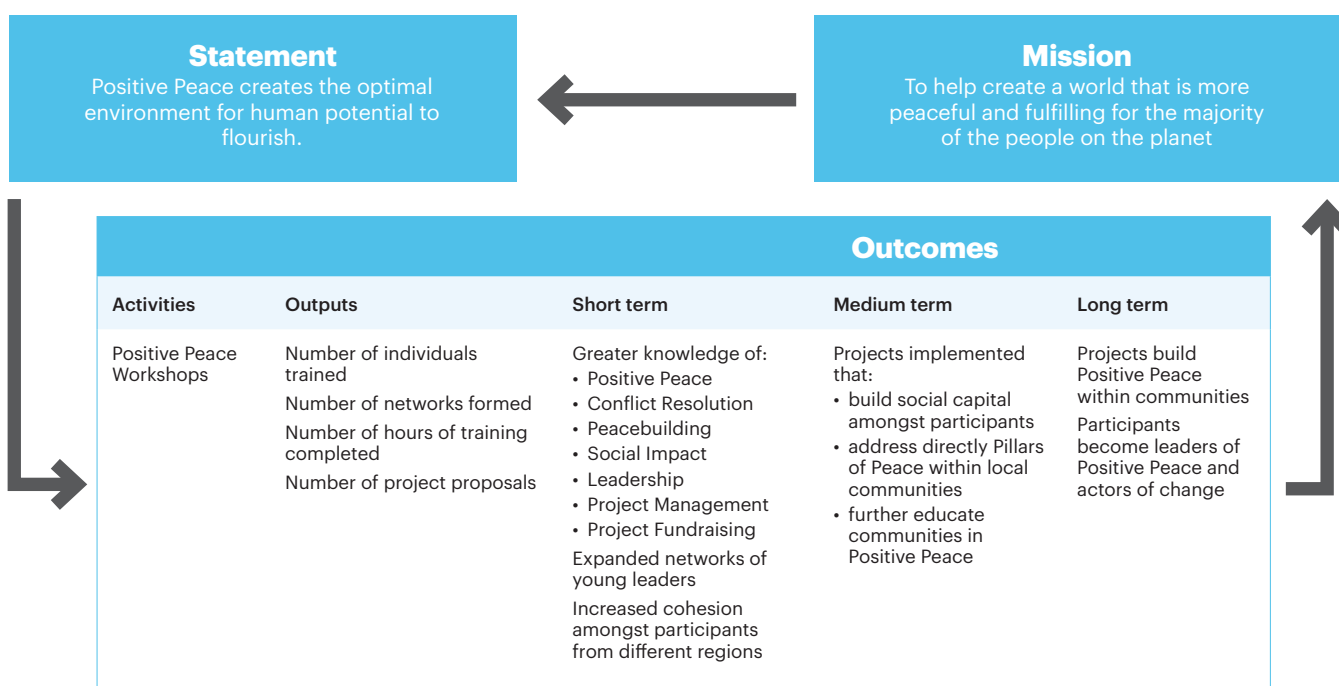
THEORY OF CHANGE UNDERPINNING THE POSITIVE PEACE WORKSHOPS

IEP has developed the Positive Peace framework through empirical research of what the most peaceful countries in the world have in common. IEP research suggests that improving Positive Peace will create an optimum environment for human

FIGURE 4.1

Positive Peace workshop theory of change

Positive Peace Workshops help improve Positive Peace directly by educating participants and implementing projects, and indirectly through building human capital, expanding networks and starting follow-on projects.

Statement	Mission
Positive Peace creates the optimal environment for human potential to flourish.	To help create a world that is more peaceful and fulfilling for the majority of the people on the planet

Outcomes				
Activities	Outputs	Short term	Medium term	Long term
Positive Peace Workshops	Number of individuals trained Number of networks formed Number of hours of training completed Number of project proposals	Greater knowledge of: • Positive Peace • Conflict Resolution • Peacebuilding • Social Impact • Leadership • Project Management • Project Fundraising Expanded networks of young leaders Increased cohesion amongst participants from different regions	Projects implemented that: • build social capital amongst participants • address directly Pillars of Peace within local communities • further educate communities in Positive Peace	Projects build Positive Peace within communities Participants become leaders of Positive Peace and actors of change

potential to flourish. The Positive Peace workshops are designed to assist local actors and communities to understand Positive Peace and create systemic change.

Figure 4.1 shows IEP's theory of change on how Positive Peace workshops can contribute to IEP's mission of creating a more peaceful and fulfilling world for the majority of people on the planet. The workshops provide training, build networks and inform project proposals. In the short term, participants gain knowledge and skills useful in building peace. In the medium term participants will use these skills to build their own projects. Such projects are intended to directly improve Positive Peace. The long-term goal is for local actors to develop new ways of further improving Positive Peace in their countries.

Specifically, Positive Peace workshops create change by:
- **Teaching participants that Positive Peace is systemic** and that sustainable peace is achieved through ensuring all eight Pillars are strong and not just a subset. This broadens the participant's awareness that many aspects interact to create positive development and peace. Strengthening only one of the Pillars can sometimes increase the likelihood of conflict. Thinking systemically allows participants to better describe the issues they face and identify broader based solutions. The Positive Peace workshops are consistent with the "do no harm" approach.[40]
- **Fostering bottom-up approaches** that assist in building better societies. Time is given for participants to develop projects applying the theory and language of Positive Peace. Ownership is instilled in the participants throughout the workshop. Participants are first asked to describe the issue they wish to address and then how it could be addressed through the eight Pillars. The skills and knowledge gained in the workshops are intended to assist participants in gaining

community support for future endeavours.
- **Reducing the likelihood of future conflicts.** The causes of conflicts are complex and intertwined. Describing the full scope of any conflict situation is challenging. Because IEP's Positive Peace framework is easily understood, it is easier for participants to see the importance of each of the Pillars. The simple language of the Pillars also presents a neutral baseline language acceptable in all cultural contexts of the workshops to date.
- **Offering the opportunity for participants to meet, discuss and collaborate** with people from other parts of the country that they ordinarily may not have contact with. In some workshops, participants have come from groups that were hostile and violent toward each other, yet were able to utilise the opportunity and constructively work towards peace. As the workshop is designed to be forward looking, it allows parties to describe problems and solutions without falling into accusatory or inflammatory language.

MONITORING & EVALUATION

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) surveys are conducted before each course, immediately following, and then six months after the completion of the course. A workshop conducted in Mexico in conjunction with Rotary International provides an excellent example of the changes in attitudes that occurred from the workshop.

Short Term
Knowledge Metrics
- 55 percentage point increase in participants who felt "very familiar" with the topic of Positive Peace after the workshop, as compared to eight per cent before.
- 22 percentage point increase to 51 per cent in participants who felt "very familiar" with the topic of conflict resolution

after the workshop, as compared to 29 per cent before.
- 38 percentage point increase to 53 per cent in participants who felt "very familiar" with the topic of peacebuilding after the workshop, as compared to 16 per cent before.
- 28 percentage point increase to 72 per cent in participants who felt "very familiar" with the topic of social impact after the workshop, as compared to 42 per cent before.

Skills Metrics
- 15 percentage point increase to 34 per cent in participants who felt "very comfortable" with conflict resolution (as a skill) after the workshop, as compared to 19 per cent before.
- 22 percentage point increase to 64 per cent in participants who felt "very comfortable" with leadership after the workshop, as compared to 42 per cent before.
- 17 percentage point increase to 36 per cent in participants who felt "very comfortable" with project management after the workshop, as compared to 19 per cent before.
- 21 percentage point increase to 29 per cent in participants who felt "very familiar" with project fundraising after the workshop, as compared to 8 per cent before.

Medium Term
- 75 per cent of the participants reported that they had since applied the "leadership" skills gained at the workshops.
- 57 per cent of the participants reported they had since applied the "conflict resolution" skills gained at the workshops.
- 46 per cent of the participants reported they had since applied the "project management" skills gained at the workshops.
- 25 per cent of the participants reported they had since applied the "project fundraising" skills gained at the workshops.

Long Term
- After the Positive Peace workshop, 77 per cent of participants became involved in one or more new projects that they had not been involved in prior to the workshop.
- Of these participants, 82 per cent started the project themselves. All of these reported that participation in the workshop motivated them to start the new project.

WORKSHOP FORMATS

The format of Positive Peace workshops is customisable for different contexts and cultures. The workshops carried out thus far have had three different types of participants:
1. **Members of Government and Civil Society.** Brings together relevant leaders in government, business and academia. IEP conducted this type of workshop in Zimbabwe in 2016.
1. **Rival Groups in a Conflict Setting.** Brings together different conflicting groups, such as from rival ethnicities. The structure of the Positive Peace workshops allows participants to see common problems and issues without creating blame. This tends to pull the participants together, thereby fostering understanding. IEP conducted this type of workshop in Tunisia with participants from seven Libyan cities in 2018.
1. **Local Community Leaders and Youth.** Brings together local community leaders and motivated youth who want to improve development and enhance peace in their communities. IEP has conducted many of these types of workshops, including in Uganda in 2016 and in Mexico in 2017.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES OF THE WORKSHOPS

The following outcomes can be expected from the workshops:
1. Equip individuals with foundational knowledge about the mechanisms that create societal development and peace.[41]
2. Provide practical examples and motivation that positively influence individual behaviours towards achieving Positive Peace.
3. Particivpants identify additional stakeholders to be involved and a process for doing so, including future workshops, online training and provision of relevant additional research and resources.
4. Identify practical, concrete steps that participants can take to build Positive Peace in their local communities, activities and actions.
5. Positively reinforce and build other important behaviours and skills linked to Positive Peace, including communication, conflict resolution, inclusivity, cooperation, empathy and civic engagement.

EXAMPLES OF POSITIVE PEACE PROGRAMS & PROJECTS

Zimbabwe
IEP coordinated a workshop on Positive Peace in November 2015 in Harare, Zimbabwe, in partnership with the National Peace Trust, a Zimbabwean organisation. The workshop was supported by IEP and led by the National Peace Trust. More than 50 participants attended, including senior government officials such as Zimbabwe's Vice President, the Honourable ED Mnangagwa, who made introductory remarks, followed by civil society leaders, church leaders, academics and NGO representatives. The workshop took place over two days and included presentations by identified experts in each of the eight Positive Peace factors.

The workshop brought together representatives of the ruling party, opposition parties and civil society aligned with both sides of politics. The outcome of the conference was agreement on areas where they could tangibly work together.

The overall objective of the workshop was to set up an action-orientated steering group to identify and analyse possible initiatives on the Pillars of Peace, as well as support efforts to bring those initiatives to fruition.

Through a shared understanding of peace in the wider southern Africa region, complex systems and social processes were explored using innovative tools and methods to find patterns of Positive Peace across communities.

Uganda
In partnership with Rotary International and the International Peace and Security Institute (IPSI), IEP conducted a Positive Peace workshop in Kampala, Uganda from 30 September to 2 October 2016. This workshop was delivered to 200 young Rotarians from clubs all over Uganda. This workshop also piloted a set of tailored teaching activities for each of the pillars.

The workshop developed a number of initiatives that would be partnered and driven by the local Rotary clubs. The aim was to have a large number of small projects developed by the participants that they would take back to their local communities.

One project that was implemented by Jude Kakuba, a Positive Peace workshop participant, highlights how the systemic nature of Positive Peace can be applied to small projects, such as school education. The project was a literacy training program in a very poor region of Uganda. The systemic nature of interventions moved the school from the bottom half of the district in scholastic performance to the top third and increased attendance rates by 40 per cent. Table 4.1 lists the specific interventions that took place for each Pillar of Positive Peace, while table 4.2 gives the school attendance rates and scholastic performance.

Tunisia/Libya

In March and April of 2018 and in collaboration with UNICEF and the Nicosia Initiative, IEP conducted a series of four workshops for Libyan youth in Tunis, Tunisia. The 2018 program was based on a successful pilot program in 2017, supported by the mayors of Libya, during which 16 young people travelled to

TABLE 4.1
Activities by Pillar of Peace, Uganda, 2017/2018

Pillar of Peace	Activity addressed by project	Impact
1. Well-functioning Government	Involving local community leaders on the planning and implementation committee.	The local community leaders have been instrumental in encouraging engagement of the community members in the implementation of the project through collecting construction materials such as gravel, sand and non-skilled labour.
2. Sound Business Environment	Equitable distribution of resources	Construction material such as sand, cement has been bought from the community businesses. Paid skilled labour has also been provided by Busedde community residents.
3. Equitable Distribution of Resources	Construction of classroom blocks.	By purchasing construction material and paying community members to provide labour, the house hold incomes in the society have been improved.
	Providing scholastic materials such as text books and teaching aids such as blackboard construction equipment to teachers.	This has helped to provide a more balanced opportunity for learning to the general pupil population regardless of their individual house hold incomes.
4. Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Providing and training adolescent females about proper use of sanitary towels.	The adolescent female pupil population is vulnerable due to high chance of being absent during uncomfortable menstrual periods. However, this challenge has been reduced by provision and proper training about appropriate use of reusable sanitary towels. This has reduced the rate of absenteeism of female pupils during their monthly menstrual periods.
	Setting a communication and monitoring committee comprising of parents, community leaders and teachers.	Identifying a team of corporative stake holders has enabled cheap, yet effective and fast flow of information between the community and Rotaract club so as to enable proper monitoring and supervision of project activities such as construction.
5. Good Relations with Neighbours	Fruit tree planting	The fruit tree planting will help to reduce conflict with neighbours that has been arising as a result of pupils trespassing in gardens so as to get fruits such as mangoes.
	Porridge project	By increasing the provision of porridge to cover break and lunch for higher primary pupils, this is going to reduce conflict that has been arising as a result of pupils escaping from school during break and lunch time to trespass on neighbours' plantations in search of row food such as cassava, sweet potatoes so as to reduce hunger.
6. Free Flow of Information	Media coverage by a partner- Busoga One f.m.	Partnering with a radio station that uses a native language (Lusoga) has enabled easier dissemination of information about the project, progress of Kakuba Primary school and encouraged community participation in the project.
	Setting a communication and monitoring committee comprising of parents, community leaders and teachers.	Identifying a team of corporative stake holders has enabled cheap, yet effective and fast flow of information between the community and Rotaract club so as to enable proper monitoring and supervision of project activities such as construction.
7. High Level of Human Capital	Construction of classroom blocks.	Providing employment to the formerly unemployed youths and elderly members of the community through construction and growing maize for porridge has helped to improve the creativity and productivity of residents in the community. With time, the club hopes to carry out large scale growing of maize so as to make the porridge project more sustainable.
	Provision of scholastic material.	This has helped to attract a higher number of pupils, make the learning process more practical and realistic. The result has been an increase in creativity of the students which can be reflected through improvement of pupil performance in national exams.
	Medical camp.	Providing free medical services to the residents and pupils has helped to reduce reoccurrence of health issues such as cough and flue, malaria and dental complications. This has resulted into improved productivity of the labour population and presence of the pupil population in school activities.
8. Low Levels of Corruption	Branding donated items.	Branding of donated items such as text books and sauce pans has led to improved personal responsibility of the items from teachers, parents and teachers. The parents have appreciated the fact that these items are free of charge and should therefore pay no extra cost to access these donated items towards the improvement of their children's education.
	Setting up a committee among school staff to monitor donated items.	The committee, comprising of teachers and parents has helped to keep track of the donated items by taking regular stock count so as to avoid inequitable utilisation and forceful possession of the items.

Source: Rotary International

TABLE 4.2
Results from the Kulaakulana Initiative

Pupil enrolment before and after implementation of project			
Enrolment	Before implementation (in 2017)	After implementation (in 2017)	% increase
Boys	126	215	70.6%
Girls	201	238	18.4%
Total enrolment	327	453	38.5%

Pupil achievement before and after implementation of project				

Before implementation of the project, 48.5% of the candidates achieved the first three Divisions, while 51.5% (the majority) achieved the other (undesirable) divisions. After implementation of the project, 67.8% of the candidates achieved the first three (desirable) divisions, while 32.2% (the minority) achieved the other 3 (undesirable) divisions. The teachers confirmed that this improvement is a result of the scholastic materials such as study charts, teacher guides, mathematical sets and exercise books that were donated to the pupils.

Grading	Before implementation (in 2016)	Cumulative total	After implementation (in 2017)	Cumulative total
Division 1	5	8%	5	8%
Division 2	15	23%	23	37%
Division 3	12	18%	14	23%
Division 4	15	23%	9	15%
Division U	14	21%	8	13%
Division X	5	8%	3	5%
Total of candidates	66	100%	62	100%

Source: Rotary International

Tunis for training. The 2018 workshops trained 180 young people, with further workshops planned.

Since the overthrow of Gaddafi in 2011, Libya has been mired in violent conflict. Different militias and brigades control different areas within Libya, and many of the communities from which the youth came were in conflict with each other.

The workshop allowed participants from different cities across Libya the chance to sit at the same table and discuss their different experiences and perspectives. Through IEP's Positive Peace framework, participants were able to see common peace and development problems facing their cities. There were many comments after the course stating that they never thought that they would be in the same room with some of the other participants, let alone agreeing on common approaches to common problems.

At the conclusion of each of the four workshops, participants were asked to develop and present their own projects based on the Positive Peace framework. This exercise allowed participants to consider the challenges they face systemically and respond with actions aimed at building the Pillars of Peace. Of the 40 projects submitted, 13 were selected to be funded as part of the initiative. Project grants were awarded by a multi-stakeholder committee based on the project's potential to build Positive Peace in Libyan towns and cities.

Prior to each workshop, participants responded to a survey that measured perceptions of cohesion across communities. The same survey was also administered at the end of each workshop. The results show a marked increase in intergroup cohesion and positive perceptions of other communities as a result of participation.

Mexico

Due to high levels of organised crime, Mexico ranks 140th out of 163 countries on the Global Peace Index. However, it has the second highest potential for improvement in peace in the world, as measured by the PPI. In order to activate that potential, IEP, Rotary International and Universidad de las Americas Puebla convened more than 300 young members of Rotary, university students and youth leaders for the two-day intensive program, "A Stronger Mexico: Pillars of Positive Peace."

Integrating IEP's research on Positive Peace and Rotary's grassroots network in Mexico, the workshop aimed to provide youth leaders with the knowledge and tools needed to improve peace. The workshop's participants learned about the Mexico Peace Index (MPI), topics like social entrepreneurship, civic engagement and leadership, and participated in breakout sessions on each Pillar of Positive Peace. Participants identified peace and development focused projects to pursue in their own communities.

Following the workshop, participants reported increased familiarity with Positive Peace, conflict resolution, project management and fundraising, peacebuilding, and leadership.

All respondents reported that the knowledge they gained through the workshop was pertinent to their work, studies or projects. The results of the workshop have been set out as an example under Monitoring and Evaluation, earlier in this section.

Positive Peace Index methodology

The Positive Peace Index is the first known attempt to build a statistical index measuring the latent variables of positive peace, based on the definition of "the attitudes, institutions and structures which when strengthened, lead to a more peaceful society." The PPI is similar to the GPI in that it is a composite index attempting to measure a latent multidimensional concept. It covers the same set of 163 countries included in the GPI, capturing over 99 per cent of the world's population.

The starting point for developing the PPI was to correlate the Internal Peace score from the GPI against over 4,700 cross-country harmonized datasets measuring a variety of economic, governance, social, attitudinal and political factors. This aggregation of data attempted to cover every known quantitative and qualitative dataset measuring factors at the nation-state level. Each dataset which was significantly correlated was then organised under eight distinct factors collectively termed as the Pillars of Positive Peace. The pillars were derived by empirical inspection and from the large body of qualitative and quantitative literature highlighting the importance of these factors. Rather than attempting to isolate singular factors associated with peace, this approach is focused on identifying the broad and complex associations that exist between the drivers of violence and a multitude of formal and informal cultural, economic and political variables.

After identifying the eight pillars, three indicators were identified to measure each. Indicators were chosen first and foremost based on the strength of the relationship with Internal Peace. Then, where it was necessary to narrow down specific indicators of the same concept, variables were chosen based on country and time coverage, with the requirement that data sources cover at least three years and at least 95 countries, and measurement of distinct aspects of each domain, to the extent possible.

The PPI has the following key features:

➔ **24 indicators under eight domains**
➔ **163 countries covered**
➔ **time series from 2005 to 2017.**

INDICATOR WEIGHTINGS AND SCORING

All indicators are scored between one and five, with one being the most 'positively peaceful' score and five the least 'positively peaceful'. This means countries which score closer to one are likely to have relatively more institutional capacity and resilience in comparison to nations which score closer to five.

The weightings are between 0.2 and 0.5 and have been derived by the strength of the indicator's statistical correlation to the GPI score. The stronger the correlation to the Global Peace Index, the higher the weighting portioned in the PPI. The lowest weighting is given to the mobile subscription rate which accounts for 2.13 per cent of the index. This is in comparison to the most heavily weighted factor, rule of law, which accounts for 5.4 per cent of the PPI.

Positive Peace Index Pillars and Indicators

IEP has used the following indicators and weights in the construction of the Positive Peace Index.

Positive Peace pillar	Indicator	Description	Source	Weight, as a % of total Index
Well-functioning Government	Democratic political culture	Measures whether the electoral process, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and culture support secular democracy.	Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index	4.49%
	Government effectiveness	Reflects perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.	World Bank	5.24%
	Rule of law	Reflects perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.	World Bank	5.45%
Sound Business Environment	Business environment	Measures a country's entrepreneurial environment, its business infrastructure, barriers to innovation, and labour market flexibility.	Legatum Institute	4.69%
	Economic freedom overall score	Measures individual freedoms to and protection of freedoms to work, produce, consume, and invest unconstrained by the state.	Heritage Foundation, Index of Economic Freedom	4.28%
	GDP per capita	GDP per capita	World Bank	4.07%
Low Levels of Corruption	Factionalised elites	Measures the fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along ethnic, class, clan, racial or religious lines.	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index	5.03%
	Perceptions of corruption score	Scores countries based on how corrupt the public sector is perceived to be.	Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index	5.38%
	Control of corruption	Captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption.	World Bank, World Governance Indicators	5.31%
High Levels of Human Capital	Secondary school enrolment	The ratio of children of official school age who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age.	World Bank	3.58%
	Global Innovation Index	The Global Innovation Index (GII) aims to capture the multi-dimensional facets of innovation and provide the tools that can assist in tailoring policies to promote long-term output growth, improved productivity, and job growth.	Cornell University	4.55%
	Youth Development Index overall score	The YDI measures the status of 15-29 year-olds in according to five key domains: Education, Health and Well-being, Employment, Civic Participation and Political Participation.	Commonwealth Secretariat	4.27%
Free Flow of Information	Freedom of the Press Index overall score	A composite measure of the degree of print, broadcast, and internet freedom.	Freedom House	4.27%
	Mobile phone subscription rate	Number of mobile phone subscriptions per 100 inhabitants.	ITU	2.13%
	World Press Freedom Index overall score	Ranks countries based on media pluralism and independence, respect for the safety and freedom of journalists, and the legislative, institutional and infrastructural environment in which the media operate.	Reporters Without Borders	3.72%
Good Relations with Neighbours	Hostility to foreigners	Measures social attitudes toward foreigners and private property.	Economist Intelligence Unit	4.62%
	Number of visitors	Number of visitors as per cent of the domestic population.	Economist Intelligence Unit	2.34%
	Regional integration	Measures the extent of a nation's trade-based integration with other states.	Economist Intelligence Unit	4.20%
Equitable Distribution of Resources	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy	The HDI life expectancy index adjusted for inequality scores countries based on both average life expectancy and the degree of inequality in life expectance between groups.	UNDP, Human Development Index	3.79%
	Social mobility	Measures the potential for upward social mobility based on the degree to which either merit or social networks determine an individual's success.	Institutional Profiles Database	3.65%
	Poverty gap	The mean shortfall from the poverty line at $2 per day PPP (counting the nonpoor as having zero shortfall), expressed as a % of the poverty line.	World Bank	2.27%
Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Empowerment Index	An additive index using indicators of freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers' rights, political participation, and freedom of religion.	CIRI, Human Rights Dataset	3.31%
	Group grievance rating	Measures the extent and severity of grievances between groups in society, including religious, ethnic, sectarian and political discrimination and division.	Fund For Peace, Fragile States Index	4.76%
	Gender inequality	The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects women's disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.	UNDP, Human Development Index	4.48%

Data imputation methods in order of application

IEP used a number of different imputation techniques in the construction of the PPI.

Imputation method	Description	Application in the PPI
Time series imputation	Replace missing values using linear interpolation.	When at least two data points exist in time for an indicator-country pair, linear interpolation is used to estimate data for unreported years.
Cold deck imputation	Replacing the missing **value with a value from another source.**	When only one data point exists for an indicator-country pair, this data is used for all years.
Hot deck imputation	Assign missing data the value of a "similar" data point.	Where time series and cold deck imputations fail, indicator-country pairs are assigned averages of other countries in the same year in the following order of preference:
		Where time series and cold deck imputations fail, indicator-country pairs are assigned averages of other countries in the same year in the following order of preference:
		1. The average of the country's region. 2. The average of other countries in the same income bracket as the country as defined by the World Bank. 3. The average of all other countries with the same government type as the country as defined by the Economist Intelligence Unit. 4. Assign the global average.
		Only the most preferable of the four hot deck imputation techniques listed is used for any single missing data instance.

DATA AVAILABILITY AND IMPUTATION METHODS

This methodology has been designed in line with other prominent global indicators, and substantial effort has been made to populate the index with the best existing country information. However, the major challenge to developing a harmonized peace index is in attempting to overcome the paucity of consistent and comprehensive data coverage across countries which vary significantly in terms of land mass, population, level of economic development and regional location. One of the major outputs of this process is a summary not only of the available data, but also of the data that cannot be currently sourced.

The issue of low availability for current or historical data has been a factor in a number of the methodological decisions made, from what indicators to include to how calculate the final scores. The smallest number of countries covered is the dataset for the poverty gap indicator, which includes 100 countries. All other datasets range from 106 countries to complete coverage of the 163 countries included in the index. However, there may still be cases where data points are missing for a particular country and year. There are many empirical and statistical techniques that can be employed to deal with these missing data issues when creating a composite index. Table B.2 lists these and how they are applied to the Positive Peace Index.

B

Positive Peace Index rankings

TABLE C.1

Results of the 2018 Positive Peace Index

Country	Rank	PP overall score	Well-Functioning Government	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Free Flow of Information	High Level of Human Capital	Good Relations with Neighbours
Sweden	1	1.25	1.14	1.11	1.34	1.19	1.23	1.47	1.18	1.41
Finland	2	1.28	1.17	1.01	1.34	1.32	1.37	1.46	1.46	1.26
Norway	3	1.29	1.11	1.01	1.31	1.03	1.59	1.54	1.53	1.26
Switzerland	4	1.33	1.08	1.04	1.17	1.61	1.66	1.52	1.25	1.6
Netherlands	5	1.36	1.29	1.37	1.33	1.21	1.67	1.54	1.21	1.23
Ireland	6	1.4	1.42	1.4	1.35	1.51	1.37	1.81	1.35	1
Denmark	7	1.42	1.13	1.06	1.31	1.96	1.72	1.54	1.3	1.66
New Zealand	8	1.44	1.28	1.06	1.05	1.05	1.73	1.71	1.51	2.33
Germany	9	1.46	1.52	1.3	1.36	1.06	1.93	1.73	1.26	1.55
Iceland	9	1.46	1.41	1.26	1.38	1.96	1.2	1.64	1.61	1.45
Australia	11	1.51	1.33	1.32	1.15	1.12	1.63	1.87	1.51	2.37
Canada	11	1.51	1.23	1.28	1.17	1.83	1.65	1.94	1.46	1.87
United Kingdom	11	1.51	1.36	1.59	1.23	1.17	2.15	1.96	1.2	1.47
Austria	14	1.52	1.63	1.65	1.52	1.49	1.8	1.54	1.45	1
Belgium	15	1.67	1.81	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.85	1.64	1.65	1.32
Singapore	15	1.67	1.49	1.46	1.02	1.62	1.9	2.94	1.57	1.74
France	17	1.72	1.88	1.63	1.74	1.46	2.41	2.06	1.48	1
United States	18	1.75	1.48	2.02	1.25	1.46	2.37	1.93	1.44	2.05
Japan	19	1.8	1.56	1.62	1.63	1.87	1.73	2.04	1.42	2.76
Portugal	20	1.81	1.93	2.01	2.31	2.02	1.41	1.77	1.72	1.21
Estonia	21	1.82	1.93	2.23	1.92	1.4	2.3	1.54	1.88	1
Slovenia	22	1.89	2.17	1.99	2.4	2.03	1.67	1.94	1.71	1
Spain	23	1.94	1.83	2.82	1.98	1.8	2.08	2	1.71	1
Czech Republic	24	1.97	2	2.64	2.01	2	2.02	1.82	1.87	1.09
Lithuania	25	2.02	2.11	2.26	2.3	1.8	2.08	1.74	2.27	1.32
Uruguay	26	2.04	2.21	1.76	2.37	1.91	1.79	1.71	2.55	1.98
Italy	27	2.05	2.25	2.93	2.1	1.72	1.86	1.94	1.88	1.25
Korea	27	2.05	1.88	2.65	1.68	1.9	1.65	2.19	1.4	3.05
Chile	29	2.07	2	1.83	2.28	2.27	2.12	1.94	2.1	2.07

Country	Rank	PP overall score	Well-Functioning Government	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Free Flow of Information	High Level of Human Capital	Good Relations with Neighbours
Cyprus	30	2.09	2.14	2.94	2.04	1.87	2.25	1.81	1.92	1.37
Latvia	31	2.11	2.06	2.53	2.27	2.05	2.76	1.84	1.97	1.15
Israel	32	2.12	1.83	2.78	1.62	1.37	3.37	2.17	1.66	1.95
Slovakia	33	2.18	2.37	2.84	2.47	1.7	2.55	1.83	2.15	1
United Arab Emirates	33	2.18	2.24	1.88	1.48	2.37	2.72	2.75	2.41	1.74
Costa Rica	35	2.2	2.43	2.36	2.69	2.18	2.27	1.37	2.18	1.82
Mauritius	36	2.23	1.84	2.6	2.48	2.45	2.31	1.96	2.53	1.63
Poland	37	2.25	2.63	2.38	2.53	1.99	2.06	2.07	2.18	1.87
Hungary	38	2.28	2.38	3.08	2.65	1.99	2.26	2.38	2.08	1
Qatar	39	2.37	2.36	2.37	1.68	2.33	3.47	2.87	2.5	1.37
Taiwan	40	2.38	2.08	2.09	2.62	1.94	2.23	1.96	3.24	2.9
Jamaica	41	2.39	2.65	2.96	2.8	1.5	2.21	1.75	2.67	2.06
Croatia	42	2.41	2.68	2.83	3.04	1.82	2.21	2.42	2.19	1.66
Greece	43	2.44	2.66	2.9	2.78	2.13	2.25	2.45	2.34	1.66
Botswana	44	2.54	2.26	2.17	2.87	3.15	2.72	2.2	3.43	1.67
Bulgaria	45	2.55	3	3.21	2.98	2.26	2.41	2.4	2.24	1.38
Romania	45	2.55	2.93	3.06	2.64	2.23	3	2.24	2.28	1.56
Malaysia	47	2.59	2.33	3.24	2.37	2.2	3.22	2.96	2.27	1.9
Panama	48	2.64	2.91	3.01	2.34	2.67	2.73	2.34	2.67	2.23
Trinidad and Tobago	49	2.67	2.97	3.33	2.67	2.77	2.23	1.72	2.96	2.34
Montenegro	50	2.68	3.06	3.29	3.06	2.12	2.67	2.2	2.43	2.03
Oman	51	2.69	2.87	3.19	2.62	2.51	2.44	2.83	2.6	2.24
Argentina	52	2.71	2.75	2.99	3.15	1.96	2.45	2.22	2.69	3.16
Albania	53	2.72	3.1	3.52	3.15	2.44	2.39	2.54	2.53	1.54
Namibia	54	2.76	2.7	2.6	3.13	3.16	2.87	2.07	3.6	1.84
Georgia	55	2.77	2.7	3.18	2.9	2.16	3.45	2.36	2.54	2.59
Bahrain	56	2.8	2.82	3.64	2.1	2.23	3.43	3.19	2.28	2.4
Kuwait	56	2.8	3.12	3.66	2.25	2.57	2.85	2.66	2.42	2.48
Serbia	58	2.82	2.99	3.68	3.27	2.48	2.78	2.4	2.32	2.12
Macedonia	59	2.91	3.25	3.71	2.84	2.45	2.51	2.95	2.43	2.74
Saudi Arabia	60	2.92	3.04	3.36	2.46	2.48	3.6	3.5	2.43	2.38
South Africa	60	2.92	2.87	3.25	2.91	3.27	2.87	2	2.98	3.13
Mexico	62	2.93	3.2	3.73	2.76	2.74	2.93	3.2	2.5	2.05
Bhutan	63	2.94	2.77	2.57	3.55	2.77	3.6	2.83	2.97	2.46
Colombia	63	2.94	3.17	3.72	2.69	2.44	3.04	2.79	2.43	2.85
Dominican Republic	63	2.94	2.96	3.84	3.19	2.8	3.16	2.52	2.78	1.85
Ghana	66	2.96	2.85	3.26	3.51	3.2	2.78	1.95	3.35	2.57
Peru	66	2.96	3.29	3.63	2.82	2.49	3.12	2.45	2.61	2.81
Tunisia	68	2.97	2.85	3.57	3.47	2.42	3.12	2.58	2.91	2.47
Brazil	69	2.98	3.25	3.38	3.36	2.32	2.75	2.52	2.67	3.24
El Salvador	70	2.99	3.3	3.42	3.22	2.77	2.77	2.13	3.14	2.73
Guyana	71	3.01	3.27	3.34	3.38	2.91	3.17	2.49	2.84	2.39
China	72	3.02	2.75	3.55	3.01	2.58	3.43	3.96	2.23	2.57
Mongolia	73	3.03	3.09	3.5	3.46	2.98	2.15	2.31	2.37	4.2
Armenia	74	3.07	3.54	3.81	3.14	2.47	2.93	2.75	2.68	2.67
Belarus	74	3.07	3.21	3.65	3.35	1.94	3.11	3.4	2.63	2.89
Kazakhstan	74	3.07	3.23	4.01	2.79	2.98	3.16	3.34	2.41	2.37
Thailand	74	3.07	2.87	4	2.99	2.45	3.34	2.89	2.65	2.98

Country	Rank	PP overall score	Well-Functioning Government	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Free Flow of Information	High Level of Human Capital	Good Relations with Neighbours
Bosnia and Herzegovina	78	3.08	3.41	3.9	3.4	2.49	2.82	2.61	2.66	2.79
Morocco	79	3.11	2.96	3.45	3.35	2.62	3.68	2.93	3.13	2.49
Sri Lanka	79	3.11	2.76	3.85	3.36	2.31	3.68	2.88	2.47	3.21
Jordan	81	3.12	2.93	3.18	3.34	2.75	3.92	3.1	3.01	2.59
Indonesia	82	3.14	2.9	3.65	3.2	2.85	3.52	2.48	3.07	3.24
Moldova	83	3.15	3.45	4.16	3.44	2.17	2.94	2.76	2.75	2.89
Ukraine	83	3.15	3.42	4.1	3.74	2.44	2.72	2.52	2.61	3.05
Vietnam	85	3.17	2.67	3.68	3.55	2.61	3.37	3.69	2.46	3.2
Senegal	86	3.19	3	3.3	3.65	3.19	3.21	2.52	3.91	2.56
India	87	3.21	2.88	3.6	3.5	3	3.7	2.76	3.06	2.97
Turkey	87	3.21	2.92	3.82	2.98	2.62	3.59	3.43	2.37	3.87
Ecuador	89	3.24	3.44	4.03	3.61	2.3	3.11	3.03	2.7	3.19
Philippines	89	3.24	3.21	3.91	3.19	2.63	3.3	2.62	2.85	3.89
Paraguay	91	3.25	3.54	4.06	3.3	2.24	2.78	2.79	2.94	3.85
Rwanda	92	3.26	3.02	3.04	2.96	3.94	3.75	3.6	3.83	2.18
Nicaragua	93	3.28	3.3	4.07	3.53	2.74	3.34	2.57	3.49	2.72
Azerbaijan	94	3.29	3.41	4.07	3.24	2.94	3.22	3.66	2.65	2.8
Guatemala	94	3.29	3.61	3.98	3.1	2.89	3.37	2.83	3.3	2.82
Kyrgyz Republic	94	3.29	3.82	4.2	3.44	2.76	3.52	2.77	2.68	2.5
Lesotho	97	3.31	3.19	3.46	3.72	4.55	2.7	2.59	3.88	2.47
Burkina Faso	98	3.33	3.2	3.57	3.68	4.1	2.93	2.46	4.04	2.6
Cuba	98	3.33	3.25	3.29	4.12	1.94	3.04	4.29	3.13	3.43
Honduras	98	3.33	3.68	3.9	3.32	3.04	3.01	3.17	3.31	2.82
Gabon	101	3.34	3.33	3.94	3.44	3.17	2.81	2.77	4.12	2.78
Tanzania	102	3.35	3.09	3.53	3.43	3.77	3.2	2.91	4.01	2.88
Benin	103	3.36	3.28	3.6	3.64	4.45	2.89	2.49	3.88	2.59
Russia	104	3.37	3.7	4.14	3.12	2.47	3.65	3.14	2.53	3.75
Eswatini	105	3.38	3.17	3.6	3.41	4.44	3.09	3.64	3.77	2.07
Timor-Leste	106	3.41	3.41	3.86	3.89	3.31	3.21	2.3	3.63	3.31
Bolivia	107	3.43	3.75	3.99	3.95	2.91	2.85	2.76	2.92	3.86
The Gambia	107	3.43	3.49	4.05	3.84	3.21	3.08	3.28	3.57	2.54
Uganda	107	3.43	2.95	4.34	3.46	3.59	3.72	3.08	3.79	2.21
Zambia	107	3.43	3	3.54	3.41	3.72	3.21	3.08	4.33	3.22
Lebanon	111	3.44	3.53	4.37	3.35	2.4	3.52	2.86	2.9	4.12
Palestine	112	3.47	3.37	3.87	3.73	2.32	3.62	3.51	3.45	3.54
Malawi	113	3.48	3.14	4.06	3.77	4.13	3.19	2.84	3.99	2.57
Egypt	114	3.5	3.51	4.09	3.57	2.46	4.17	3.44	3.12	3.18
Cambodia	115	3.52	3.56	4.49	3.44	3.36	3.22	2.99	3.61	3.04
Cote d'Ivoire	116	3.54	3.32	4.02	3.47	4.18	4.17	2.55	4.16	2.22
Nepal	116	3.54	3.42	4.16	3.72	3.2	3.75	2.63	3.2	3.91
Algeria	118	3.55	3.43	3.86	3.95	2.78	3.59	2.97	3.36	4.21
Bangladesh	119	3.56	3.49	4.31	3.73	2.8	3.75	3.18	3.5	3.27
Kenya	119	3.56	3.16	4.29	3.39	4.02	4.1	2.87	3.31	3.24
Kosovo	119	3.56	3.53	3.68	3.97	4.08	3.26	2.84	4.25	2.77
Madagascar	122	3.57	3.49	4.22	3.82	3.84	3.21	3.07	4	2.6
Papua New Guinea	123	3.58	3.36	4.02	3.76	3.77	3.2	2.47	4.01	3.91
Tajikistan	123	3.58	3.5	4.42	3.67	3.18	3.29	3.51	2.84	3.99
Mali	125	3.59	3.36	3.58	3.63	4.26	3.49	2.44	4.08	3.92

Country	Rank	PP overall score	Well-Functioning Government	Low Levels of Corruption	Sound Business Environment	Equitable Distribution of Resources	Acceptance of the Rights of Others	Free Flow of Information	High Level of Human Capital	Good Relations with Neighbours
Myanmar	125	3.59	3.33	4.07	3.92	3	4.15	3.21	3.49	3.22
Laos	127	3.6	3.36	4.19	3.67	3.63	3.66	3.98	3.32	2.91
Sierra Leone	128	3.64	3.43	4.06	3.93	4.38	3.58	2.77	4.25	2.6
Uzbekistan	128	3.64	3.54	4.5	3.91	3.2	3.46	4.06	2.63	3.58
Togo	130	3.65	3.54	3.94	3.89	4.28	3.27	2.89	4.07	3.24
Liberia	131	3.67	3.71	4.07	3.86	3.78	3.22	2.98	4.22	3.27
Ethiopia	132	3.69	3.21	3.95	3.98	3.21	4.07	3.8	3.73	3.47
Djibouti	133	3.7	3.51	3.91	4.22	3.31	3.61	4.02	4.27	2.54
Iran	134	3.71	3.57	4.28	3.7	2.16	4.35	3.82	2.83	4.62
Mozambique	135	3.73	3.59	4.01	3.93	4.6	3.3	2.85	4.26	3.21
Haiti	136	3.78	4.15	4.67	3.89	3.81	3.45	2.77	4.33	2.57
Venezuela	137	3.79	4.21	4.57	4.2	2.56	3.38	3.41	3.11	4.28
Republic of the Congo	138	3.84	3.86	4.23	4.2	3.8	3.42	2.85	4.47	3.58
Mauritania	139	3.86	3.77	4.24	4.06	3.53	3.82	2.7	4.45	4.01
Nigeria	140	3.87	3.77	4.46	3.45	4.44	4.29	2.86	3.69	3.93
Libya	141	3.88	4.1	4.82	4.29	2.98	3.39	3.35	3.28	4.29
Guinea	142	3.89	3.82	4.42	4.04	3.74	3.99	3	4.1	3.63
Niger	142	3.89	3.48	4.09	3.98	4.02	3.9	2.92	4.41	4.25
Burundi	144	3.9	3.88	4.41	4.05	4.53	3.45	3.86	3.98	2.88
Cameroon	144	3.9	3.65	4.46	3.78	4.01	3.93	3.17	3.83	4.27
Pakistan	144	3.9	3.84	4.19	3.72	3.27	4.32	3.23	3.76	4.63
Guinea-Bissau	147	3.96	4.28	4.84	3.86	4.46	3.08	2.93	4.56	3.25
Angola	148	3.99	3.76	4.41	4.14	4.18	4	3.46	4.18	3.61
Turkmenistan	149	4	3.86	4.52	3.9	3.46	3.81	3.95	3.72	4.67
Zimbabwe	150	4.01	3.69	4.67	4.17	3.52	4.07	3.3	3.86	4.52
Afghanistan	151	4.14	4.28	4.74	3.99	3.62	4.21	3.13	4.15	4.63
Dem. Rep of the Congo	152	4.15	4.08	4.71	3.94	4.29	4.55	3.84	4.53	2.97
Iraq	152	4.15	4.04	4.77	4.2	3.07	4.28	3.43	4.07	4.98
Sudan	152	4.15	3.84	4.9	4.11	3.48	4.3	4.03	4.01	4.28
Syria	155	4.16	4.31	4.93	3.9	2.48	4.45	4.21	3.97	4.45
Chad	156	4.17	4.11	4.77	4.17	4.52	3.83	3.48	4.65	3.63
Equatorial Guinea	157	4.18	3.99	4.71	3.88	4.24	3.64	4.14	4.64	4.13
North Korea	158	4.2	4.57	4.65	4.39	2.71	3.77	4.71	3.39	5
South Sudan	159	4.23	4.26	4.9	4.2	4.54	4	3.65	4.64	3.34
Eritrea	160	4.25	3.73	4.42	4.53	3.49	4.09	4.66	4.39	4.65
Yemen	161	4.31	4.08	4.89	4.23	3.39	4.71	3.96	3.95	4.97
Central African Republic	162	4.44	4.53	4.63	4.17	4.79	4.31	3.52	4.89	4.62
Somalia	163	4.56	4.98	4.98	4.71	3.95	4.31	3.93	4.21	5

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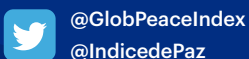**visionofhumanity.org/reports**

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